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Manasseh Cutler.

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LIFE

JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.

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BY HIS GRANDCHILDREN

WILLIAM PARKER CUTLER
AND
JULIA PERKINS CUTLER

VOLUME I

CINCINNATI
ROBERT CLARKE & CO
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PREFACE.

The papers of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D., have recently fallen into the hands of the family of his eldest son, Judge Ephraim Cutler, of Marietta, Ohio, who was himself one of the early pioneers, having moved there in 1795 from his New England home.

While the labor of preparing these papers for publication has been performed from an affectionate regard for the memory of their ancestor, it is also hoped that they may prove a valuable contribution to the early history of the North-west.

The plan of the volume may be stated as follows:

1. After a brief introduction, a sketch of his early life, together with extracts from a daily journal kept by himself, beginning in 1765 and running down to 1787, at which time he entered on the "Ohio business."

2. In order to arrive at a proper understanding of the value and character of the negotiations he carried through with the Congress of 1787, and as explanatory of the results of his labors, a brief examination and review of the situation of public affairs as connected with the North-west Territory is presented; also the steps taken to organize the Ohio Company, consisting of the plan of Colonel Timothy Pickering for the organization of "a new state westward of the Ohio;" the petition of the officers, with their names; the correspondence of General Putnam with General Washington; the "Information" published by General Putnam and General Tupper; the organization of the Ohio Company, with Dr. Cutler's appointment as their agent.

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3. Dr. Cutler's private journal, kept from the day he started from his home, as the agent of the Ohio Company to visit New York, embracing his visit to Philadelphia, until his return.

4. A journal of his second visit to New York to pay the first moiety on the land purchase, and to close the contract with the Board of Treasury.

5. A brief review of the personal influence exerted by Dr. Cutler in the formation of the Governmental Ordinance of July 13, 1787.

6. A variety of correspondence between Dr. Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, General Putnam and others, relating to the establishment of the Colony at Marietta and Ohio Company affairs.

7. A journal of a visit to Marietta undertaken in July, 1788.

8. A history of the Scioto Purchase, prepared by E. C. Dawes from papers and documents not hitherto published.

9. Dr. Cutler's correspondence while member of Congress from 1801 to 1805.

10. Portions of his literary and scientific correspondence.

11. Estimates of his character by personal acquaintances.

MARIETTA, OHIO, *September* 3, 1887.

INTRODUCTION.

In gathering up and arranging the materials for a biographical sketch of Dr. Cutler, it becomes quite evident that an important chapter in the true history of the early settlement of the Ohio valley and the North-west has been omitted from current discussions and histories relating to that general subject.

This omission is not merely one of incidents and personalities, but extends to the staple facts that constitute true and reliable data for the guidance of such an inquiry. To do justice to a subject of so much importance, the conditions under which individual actors were compelled to exert their efforts must be understood.

The great organic law passed by Congress on the 13th of July, 1787, for the government of the North-west Territory, occupies and deserves a prominent place in the admiration of posterity; but the reasons why some of its most valuable provisions were inserted, and its main features suddenly and favorably changed, have never been fully explained.

The reasons why a system of surveys was organized, and systematic and permanent occupation of the Ohio country was undertaken in direct connection with the application of the institutions of civil government, are not well understood.

Any thing like a satisfactory explanation of these, and many other similar inquiries in regard to vacant territory, must reach back to the earliest lines of policy adopted by Congress, even before its conquest from the British crown.

Not only the policy of Congress, but the *rights* of the army, arising from promised bounties, must be considered.

In placing before the reader the services performed by Dr. Cutler, and claiming for him whatever of merit attaches to his efforts, it is intended also to present as fully as practicable the services and merits of associates, and to give to contemporaneous circumstances and influences their full weight.

It will be seen that Congress and the army were the principal factors; that there was a concert of action, if not of design; that Congress sought to prepare the way for the occupation of the western wilderness, to make "rough places smooth, and the crooked places straight," while the army, with their Commander-in-Chief in full support, sought to retrieve losses, heal wounds, and find repose by encountering new risks, new hardships, and new dangers, in laying deep and broad the foundations of Christian civilization in "new states" "westward of the Ohio."

The service performed by Dr. Cutler was in bringing into harmonious action the lines of policy that were marked out by one party, and cordially accepted by the other.

As the agent of the Ohio Company of Associates, he succeeded in placing in the hands of an intelligent body of his fellow-citizens, mainly composed of officers of the army, the first application, on an efficient scale, of the land selling policy, and at the same time of the governmental policy of Congress. This effort brought him in direct contact with both parties. The narrative, mainly by himself and his contemporaries, will show the steps taken and results accomplished.

An important element in the true situation at that time is found in the connection which the Commander-in-Chief had with efforts to organize the permanent occupation of the Ohio valley. His personal landed interests there, his efforts at colonization on these lands, his earnest espousal of the petition of the officers, his early direction of their attention to the Ohio valley as a resort in case of defeat, and the zeal with which he entered upon a comprehensive system of internal improvements, designed to connect the valley and the entire north-west with Virginia seaports, are sufficient evidences of co-operation to justify the introduction of some of his correspondence on the subject.

General Putnam's letters to Washington and to Fisher Ames disclose the true condition of affairs at that time.

If the reader will give careful attention to Washington's letter to Governor Harrison, Putnam's correspondence, and Dr. Cutler's Explanation, etc., it will be found that a harmony of views and opinions can be traced through them all that would indicate a preconcerted plan for presenting what was at that time the true situation of affairs, as well as the schemes of improvement and colonization that commanded their united attention.

These papers, with others of similar import, are valuable contributions to history, and afford explanations for the direction that Dr. Cutler gave to his negotiations with Congress. It will be clearly seen that the interests of Virginia were closely connected with the plans of the Ohio Company of Associates, and, as a result, harmony of action was secured; that the motives for such harmony were strong enough to influence legislation in matters of the greatest importance.

No apology is required for placing Dr. Cutler's journals so fully before the reader; with other papers, they constitute the body of the volume.

It is well to bear in mind that the policy adopted by Congress, in regard to vacant territory, or the "back country," was, in most respects, new and experimental.

The system of surveys was adopted after "long and painful deliberation." The idea of making wild lands a basis of revenue and of public credit was novel. Neither the Colonies nor the British government had ever devoted vacant territory to that purpose.

The mode of settling was also new. Hitherto, the individual adventurer, either alone or with a few neighbors, encountered the dangers and hardships of pioneer life. Outside of Colonial or state jurisdiction, there was no law and no value to lands. Kentucky was settled in this way. It yielded no revenue, either to the parent state or nation, from sales of lands. But Congress adopted the policy of "compact and progressive settlements," with territorial government projected over them in advance. In this way a control was established over the land as property, and lawful jurisdiction exercised over the inhabitants.

It will be found that the views of the Associates and of Washington were in entire harmony with those of Congress in these respects.

It was with all these elements of a new line of landed and territorial policy, constituting a new departure, that Dr. Cutler had to deal in his efforts to bring into practical use systems that had not been previously tried.

It will appear that the policy of "new states," "distinct governments" for the vacant territory, was announced before the Peace of '83 gave Congress the full control; that it was under consideration of several committees from 1780 to 1787; that every state except Georgia was represented on those committees from time to time; that it must have received the consideration of over twenty different members during the above interval. The system for surveys and disposing of the lands was under the consideration of a grand committee, composed of a member from each state, and evidently received careful consideration before finally disposed of, May 20, 1785.

It is also true that the *army* gave early attention to the same subjects. The officers anticipated new states, and expected that surveys of the lands would be made by the government.

Dr. Cutler kept a daily record of his personal affairs, beginning in the year 1765, and ending the year of his death, 1823. Nine years are missing. Extracts from the years that have been preserved are given in the volume, and constitute an autobiography, needing little comment to add to its interest.

His correspondence while a member of Congress presents an interesting view of that period of political transition when the authors and most earnest supporters of the Constitution were set aside and only allowed to exert that influence which comes from an intelligent, patriotic, and talented minority. Portions only of Dr. Cutler's literary and scientific correspondence have been preserved and presented to the reader.

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LIFE OF REV. MANASSEH CUTLER.

CHAPTER I.

Genealogy—Early Life—Marriage—Engages in Commerce—Studies Divinity—Settles in Ipswich Hamlet.

Among the many Puritans who came to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in the early years of its settlement was James Cutler, a young man from Norfolkshire, England. Those who thought for themselves and lived in accord with their convictions of duty in that time of religious persecution, were obliged, at much sacrifice, to leave friends and country, and cross the ocean in order to secure in this new continent their civil and religious rights. James Cutler was the first of his family to come to America. He married Anna, the sister of Captain John Grout's wife, a woman of Puritan faith, and "of wonderful decision, energy, and enterprise." He settled in Watertown in 1634, where, having passed through the necessary preliminaries, he was admitted to citizenship, and the usual allotments of land were assigned to him. He prospered in his new home and added to his possessions by the purchase of more land. Here his first child, James, was born, November 6, 1635. After encountering for ten years the trials of pioneer life in a rigorous climate, Anna died, and was buried September 30, 1644. He married, second, Mary King, the widow of Thomas King, of Watertown; and sold, about 1651, his property there, and removed to Cambridge Farms (Lexington); and is "said to have built one of the first houses erected in that place, the door-steps and cellar of which are now to be seen." The spacious farm he occupied was recently still in possession of his descendants. Here he lost his second wife, and in 1662 married Phebe Page, daughter of John

Page, and the niece of William Paine, a wealthy iron merchant of Boston, who mentioned her in his will.

James Cutler made his will November 24, 1684, bequeathing property to each of his twelve children, and also to two step-daughters. He died at Cambridge Farms, May 17, 1694, aged 88 years. His sons, James, Thomas, John, and Samuel, were useful and influential men. His daughter Hannah married John Winter, Jr.; Mary married John Collar; Elizabeth married John Parmenter, third, of Sudbury; Sarah married Thomas Waite, of Cambridge Farms; Joanna married Philip Russel.

James Cutler, the eldest son of James and Anna, born in Watertown, November 6, 1635, married June 15, 1665, Lydia (Moore) Wright, daughter of John Moore, of Sudbury, and the widow of Samuel Wright before she was twenty years old. She lived to an advanced age, and died at Sudbury, the widow of James Cutler, November 23, 1723. He served in the Indian war as a soldier under Captain Henchman, and, in common with others, endured great hardships while engaged in the campaigns against King Philip, in 1675 and 1676. He resided in Lexington, where he made his will, July 28th, and died July 30, 1685, in the 50th year of his age. His widow, Lydia Cutler, and her brother, Benjamin Moore, were the executors of his will, proved October 8, 1685. He had sons—James, Samuel, Joseph, John, and Thomas; and daughters, Ann and Elizabeth.

John Cutler, fourth son of James and Lydia, born April 14, 1675, was ten years old when his father died. He married, February 6, 1700, Hannah Snow, daughter of John Snow, of Woburn. She was received into the church at Lexington from the church of Woburn, July 5, 1702; and he united with the church in full communion February 13, 1704. He removed with his family from Lexington, where eight of his eleven children were baptized, to Killingly, Connecticut, about 1713. The country was then new. He owned a large tract of land east of the Quinebaug River, and a saw-mill on Five Mile River. He was an upright and pious man. He died in 1729, at the age of 54 years.

On the ancient records of Killingly there is a deed made by

John Cutler to his children, in which certain lands are conveyed, in consideration of his love and affection, to his sons, Seth, Timothy, and Uriah, "on condition that Seth and Timothy do bear their part with Hezekiah in maintaining their uncle, Samuel, and pay to my two daughters, Mary and Jemima, £5 each; and Uriah to pay £5 to each of his sisters when he comes of age; Hezekiah to maintain his natural mother, Hannah, with meat, drink, and apparel in sickness and in health, and provide for the bringing up of the younger children." To his wife, Hannah, he gives: "All and singular my household goods, as if mentioned in particular." To daughter, Hannah Heath, land bought of John Mighill by advice of James and Joseph Leavens, and also gives land to daughters, Abigail, Patience, and Kezia, September 8, 1727. In another legal paper John Cutler divides his saw-mill property on Five Mile River, equally, between Seth, Timothy, and Hezekiah, and gives one yoke of oxen to Seth and Timothy. To each of his sons he gives 176 acres of land, and to Hezekiah, provided he takes care of the family, and pays to his sisters £5 each, he gives, in addition, fifty acres and the buildings thereon.

Hezekiah, on the death of his father, came into possession of the fertile acres of the homestead on the eastern border of Killingly. The line dividing Connecticut and Rhode Island at that time passed directly through the house. Here his mother and sisters resided with him. His brother Seth settled at Windham, Connecticut, and left seven daughters; Timothy died at the age of thirty-two; his only son, Captain Benoni Cutler, served with honor in the Revolutionary war, after which he removed to Vermont. From him descended Rev. Calvin Cutler, and Rev. Dr. Carrol Cutler, late President of the Western Reserve College, and of Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio. The youngest brother, Uriah, went to New Jersey and settled near Morristown. General Joseph Cutler and Hon. Augustus W. Cutler are among his descendants.

Hezekiah Cutler faithfully performed the duties his father had required, and early developed those fine traits of character which distinguished him through his long life. He was received to the full communion of the church in Killingly February 25, 1733; and married, December 5, 1734, Susanna

Clark. She was the daughter of Hanniel Clark, one of the early surveyors of Windham County, Connecticut, who, in 1733, was chosen deacon of the first church in Killingly. She united with the church June 27, 1736, and is said to have been "a lady of great personal beauty and strength of mind, with an education in advance of her time."*

The children of Hezekiah and Susanna Cutler were: 1st. Mehetabel, born April 7, 1737, baptized April 10, 1737; married, October 10, 1758, Simeon Lee; died January 1, 1790, leaving an only daughter. 2d. Hannah, baptized December 24, 1738, died young. 3d. Manasseh, Rev. LL.D., the subject of this memoir, born May 13, 1742, and baptized at Thompson, May 30, 1742, by Rev. Marston Cabot. 4th. Ephraim, born November 13, 1744, baptized by Rev. M. Cabot, November 18, 1744. 5th. Hannah, born December 5, 1747; died December 25, 1753. Only the eldest daughter and the sons arrived at maturity; the two Hannahs, named to commemorate his beloved mother, died in early childhood.

Those families who lived near the boundary of Killingly were for a time included in the Thompson parish, an arrangement which proved to be so inconvenient that a petition was presented to the Colonial Government for leave to attend worship at the nearer and more accessible church in Killingly. "In the year 1746, Joseph Cady, Hezekiah Cutler, Thomas Wilson, Joseph Richards, Samuel Bloss, and other leading citizens included in Thompson Parish, now represented to the Assembly that the worship of God was regularly attended at a convenient Meeting House, which would be much less trouble to them than to go to Thompson, where the distance was so great, and the roads so bad, that a great part of holy time must be spent in very servile labor to man and beast; and at some seasons it was impossible for themselves and families to be conveyed there, and begged to be transferred to Killingly; which was granted." †

Hezekiah Cutler removed, later, to the vicinity of the Meeting House on Killingly Hill, and was prominent in town and church affairs. He is described as a man who had a commanding influence with those around him, dignified in his appearance and manners, respected for his wise and prudent counsel and his great firmness of character. He was regarded as a truly benevolent and Christian man, a peacemaker among his neighbors, a friend to the poor, and an intelligent, public-spirited citizen.

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* Larned's Hist. Windham Co., Conn., Vol. I., p. 529.

† Hist. Windham Co., Vol. I., p. 531.

On the Killingly farm, under the guiding influence of his father, and the loving, watchful care of a mother who devoted herself to the improvement of her children, Manasseh Cutler grew up with such habits and principles as are calculated to form a useful and worthy character. The labors of the farm, in which he participated, gave to him a very fine physical development and valuable habits of industry. His early practical knowledge led, in after life, to efforts for the improvement of the methods then practiced in agriculture, and accounts for his marked success as a farmer and horticulturist. This rural life gave him a liking for skating, fishing, gunning, and other field diversions, which he had abundant opportunity to enjoy; and doubtless fostered an inherent love of nature which permeated his whole being, influencing his studies, and leading him to devote much time and thought to the pursuit of the different branches of natural history.

In youth, he had the advantage of such schools as the country then afforded, but as he approached manhood he manifested an earnest desire for a more liberal and thorough education. In the absence of academies, he was placed under the care and instruction of the Rev. Aaron Brown, pastor of the church in Killingly, to be prepared for college. In these studies he was associated with Joseph Howe, a step-son of Rev. Mr. Brown and a brilliant scholar, with whom he entered Yale College in 1761. A local historian * states, that about this time an unusually large number of young men in Windham County were pursuing their studies at Yale, preparing themselves for professional life. At one time, eleven from Pomfret and three from Killingly were contemporary collegiates.

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* Larned's History of Windham Co., Conn., Vol. I., p. 527; Vol. II., pp. 90, 91.

There were then no rapid and easy means of transit, and they were accustomed to ride to New Haven in company, on horseback, taking with them a young companion to bring back the string of horses. They must have formed an interesting cavalcade. The three students from Killingly were Joseph Howe, Manasseh Cutler, and Amasa Larned; the latter, a son of Deacon Ebenezer Larned, was also prepared for college by Rev. Mr. Brown, and entered Yale a year later than his companions. "He was a gifted young man, who, after studying and serving in the ministry, turned his attention to the law, and entered political life, acquiring distinction in state and national councils."

Howe and Cutler graduated at Yale, 1765. The historian before referred to says of them: "Howe was the first scholar in a class that had its full share of distinguished names. After teaching with great success at Hartford and as a tutor at Yale, where his literary accomplishments, especially his remarkable powers of elocution, not less than his fine social and moral qualities, made him a general favorite." He was ordained, May 19, 1773, over the New South Church, in Boston, and died before he reached his thirtieth year, August 25, 1776.

"Cutler was also distinguished for diligence and proficiency, and graduated with high honor from college to attain distinction in various departments. After practicing law for a time in Edgartown, he studied theology, and was ordained pastor of the church at Ipswich Hamlet, Massachusetts, September 11, 1771. He was a man of unusual breadth and solidity of character; and while performing his pastoral duties with great fidelity and acceptance, he gave much time and thought to political and scientific investigations, fitting him to bear a most prominent and useful part in the development of the future republic."

Of the years passed in Yale College we have few details. In answer to a letter of inquiry, Prof. J. L. Kingsley wrote from New Haven, June 13, 1839: "In President Stiles' Diary there is an entry, July 2, 1787, from which it appears that Rev. Manasseh Cutler was in town that day on his way to Philadelphia, to collect botanical information. This is the amount of some half dozen lines. Among the letters remaining were received by Dr. Stiles from his correspondents there is none, I believe, from Dr. Cutler.

"As to the college life of Dr. Cutler, there is no record, except that his Bachelor's and Master's degrees were voted in the usual manner. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him in September, 1789, but the diploma was not issued till 1791. There is on record a copy of the diploma, but you probably have the original. Dr. Cutler, I believe, was not in Congress till the commencement of the present century. President Stiles died in 1795. There is no letter on file from Dr. Cutler acknowledging his diploma."

The Hon. Allen Dodge, of Hamilton, wrote, several years since: "I have before me a closely written MS., occupying more than a quire of foolscap paper, entitled, 'Manasseh Cutler, his Book of Astronomical Recreations, Performed at Yale College, N. Haven, A. D. 1763.' The title page also contains an extract of sixteen lines from Virgil, commencing,

> 'Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,'

which indeed seems to have been the key to his character throughout his long and useful life. The MS. is filled with astronomical calculations, such as phenomena of solar eclipses, theory of comets, etc. One calculation is entitled, 'An Eclipse of the Sun visible at Yale College, in New Haven, Wednesday, 24th of June, A. D. 1778. Delineated at Yale College, March y^e 24th, 1763.' There are tables of figures, diagrams and calculations in the book, altogether beyond my knowledge, or understanding; they remain as a monument of the early training of this disciple of science, and prophetic of his future attainments and distinction. It is deposited with other of his MSS., in the Archives of the Essex Institute in Salem."

With these items we leave this important period of Dr. Cutler's life. It is certain that the methods and habits of study then acquired were never lost, but resulted in those researches in astronomy, meteorology, and botany, and that varied culture for which he was distinguished.

Many valuable manuscripts were destroyed by a fire which unfortunately occurred in his study in 1812; and others, after his death, were scattered here and there, and can not be reclaimed. Among the papers in the possession of his family are several journals and interleaved almanacs; the earliest of these is a daily journal, written on sheets of paper slightly stitched together, many of which are missing or mutilated, and that appears to have been rescued from the fire. The first date on the remaining portion is November, 1765, some months after he graduated. Much of it consists of mere memoranda of personal, and often trivial affairs, but is interesting as indicating his aspirations and habits at this time. The writer, while eminently social, was a close observer, studious and methodical, and now that more than a century intervenes, we enjoy "the backward look" which he affords us in glimpses of colonial life and revolutionary times.

At the age of twenty-three, soon after he left college, Mr. Cutler engaged in teaching school at Dedham, Massachusetts, where he was introduced to a very pleasant circle, among whom were several young men near his own age who had recently completed their education, or were still pursuing their studies at Harvard. Of the number were the sons of Dr. Nathaniel Ames, "the celebrated almanac maker, who published forty almanacs in as many years." His son, Dr. Nathaniel Ames, graduated at Harvard College in 1761, and had taken the place of his father, lately deceased, as physician in Dedham. Mr. Seth Ames, another son, graduated in 1764, also studied medicine, and in the Revolutionary War was surgeon to an American regiment. The Hon. Fisher Ames, the distinguished orator and statesman, was a younger son, and graduated later. Mr. Benjamin Balch, son of Rev. Thomas Balch, of Dedham, graduated in 1763, and served as a chaplain in the army and navy during the Revolution. Mr. Nathaniel Fisher, a classmate of Mr. Balch, went to England, was ordained an Episcopal clergyman, returned, and after the war was inducted rector of St. Peter's, Salem. Mr. Joshua Fisher, graduated in 1766, afterward a physician in Ipswich and Beverly, noted for his patriotism and disinterested benevolence. These, with Dr. Jerauld, Messrs. West, Battelle, Deane, Adams, and others of like culture, were Mr. Cutler's associates. He notices in his journal the pleasant courtesies extended to him; and, among those to whom he was indebted, he mentions the names of Bacon, Morse, Dexter, Everett, Sumner, Ellis, Gay, Haven, etc. Many of his Dedham acquaintances became his life-long friends.

At the time when we begin our extracts from his private journal Mr. Cutler was teaching in Dedham. Passing over the first three weeks of this fragmentary record, we come to that of December 24, 1765, which introduces us to the amiable and attractive lady, who afterward became his wife, and was for fifty years his beloved and faithful companion.

Dec. 24, *Tuesday.* Set out for Boston in the carriage with Miss Polly Balch; very cold. Spent the evening at Captain Hart's. Lodged at Mr. Williams'. It being Christmas eve the bells in Christ Church were rung, chimed, played tunes, etc. Christ Church is a large brick building, situated at the north end, and is the first church founded in the town.

Dec. 25, *Wed.* Christmas. Went to church at King's Chapel, where was a very gay and brilliant assembly. Several intervals, in reading service, made for singing anthems, which were performed extremely well. Service was read by Parson Caner, and a sermon preached, or rather a harangue pronounced by Parson Trouback. After the sermon a collection was made for the poor. Then the sacrament was administered (which I did not tarry to see). Dined at Mr. Williams'. A very handsome dinner. In the afternoon service was read, and anthems sung, but no sermon. This church is built of stone, is very beautifully adorned with carved pillars, several images, etc. Here is a very good set of organs, but no bells, as the steeple is not erected. This is the most grand church in town, where His Excellency is obliged to attend. This evening we came to Roxbury and spent it very agreeably at Mr. Increase Sumner's, and lodged at Mr. Samuel Sumner's.

Dec. 26, *Thurs.* This morning began to snow. At 10 o'clock we set out for the city of Tiot (Indian name of Dedham), and came to an anchor at Dr. Ames', where we dined, drank tea, and spent a very agreeable evening. We came home at 10 o'clock. As it had cleared up, and was a bright moonlight night, and not cold, we had a very pleasant ride. So much for Christmas.

[Mr. Cutler was at this time particularly interested in astronomy, and frequently enters in his journal observations on the celestial bodies, and notes their various phenomena.]

Jan. 3, 1766, *Fri.* Very cold, though clear. Mr. Dean and I viewed Jupiter's moons in a prospective glass. Three of them visible, but very dim. Their positions were thus: N. ○ • • ● E.

Jan. 4, *Sat.* Extremely cold. No wood at the school-house. Studied Dr. Bates on the Immortality of the Soul.

Jan. 9, *Thurs.* Spent the evening at Mr. Fisher's. Viewed Jupiter. Four moons were visible in this position:

W. ○ • ● • ○ E.

Jan. 17, *Fri.* Mr. Balch's lecture. Mr. Haven preached. Mr. Prentice, of Cambridge, and Mr. Adams, of Medfield, here. Concluded my first three months of keeping school.

Jan. 18, *Sat.* Delineated Connecticut Hall. In the evening read the History of Popery.

Jan. 19, *Sunday.* Sacrament administered. Mr. Balch preached a very good sermon on Charity; perhaps very well timed.

Jan. 20, *Mon.* Began school again. Dined at Mr. Bacon's. Spent the evening at Mr. Gay's. Very handsomely entertained.

Jan. 23, *Thurs.* Very clear. Dined at Mr. John Morse's. Spent the evening at Mr. N. Dean's. The air very clear and serene. This morning about 6 o'clock considerable of a shock of an earthquake was felt in Boston, but was attended by no perceptible noise.

Jan. 24, *Fri.* This evening concluded the History of the Fair Greek. But an ordinary novel. Her character, though, very remarkable.

Jan. 26, *Lord's Day.* An extraordinary pleasant morning, serene and warm. Mr. Balch preached. At 3 o'clock P. M. saw Venus very plain with my naked eye. At 7 o'clock this evening the moon was so near Jupiter that they could be both seen through a three feet prospect glass at the same time. By their situation it appeared that the moon had made a transit over Jupiter before they were above the horizon.

Jan. 29, *Wed.* Still pleasant. Three of Jupiter's moons appeared plain this evening, thus: ○ • ● •

Feb. 1, *Sat.* Much colder. Hunting with Mr. Dean. In the evening read Mr. Harrison's sermons on Christ's Ascension. Very fine.

Feb. 2, *Lord's Day.* This morning about 7 o'clock was heard an uncommon noise. I was asleep, but it was so loud and continued so long that I awoke and heard the latter part very plainly. It was heard by most of the neighbors, who imagined it was in the air, and as loud as a large number of cannon fired at the same time. It is reported that some people saw a large meteor break in the air. If so, it will be worth the notice of the curious. In the morning the air was very clear, but soon an unusual vapor seemed to cover the southern part of the hemisphere, which occasioned the sun to shine very red, though it did not appear in the least smoky. There seemed to be something so remarkable in the face of the heavens that I viewed the sun at 2 o'clock in my glass, but could see nothing uncommon. Though no spot appeared on the sun's disk the air was very chilly and cold.

Feb. 3, *Mon.* Much warmer, spring-like weather. Began to read the History of Oliver Cromwell, written by a gentleman of the Middle Temple, author of the Life of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia.

Feb. 4, *Tues.* Very pleasant. Walked with Mr. Balch, after school, to Governor Little's Palace, Mr. N. Everett's, etc.

Feb. 14, *Fri.* At three o'clock this afternoon Prudence Crane, daughter of Benjamin Crane, about 8 years of age, departed this life. She was one of my scholars, a very forward child, and much lamented by her mates. At Esquire Sumner's and Mr. Morse's in the evening.

Feb. 1, *Mon.* At 1 o'clock Prudence Crane was buried. Dismissed my school in the afternoon. Received an order on Mr. Isaac Whitney.

Feb. 18, *Tues.* Went to the Furnace in Stoughton in the chaise with Mr. Asa Everett. Dined at N. Morse's. The Furnace is a large building, and has within a platform, twenty feet square, built with solid stone nineteen feet high. In the midst of this is a tunnel in the form of an egg, small at the top, bulging at the midst, and brought almost to a point at the bottom. This contains the ore, coal, shells, etc., and is about eight feet in diameter in the bulge. The top of the tunnel is built of bricks, and the rest of grindstone. At the bottom are two large arches built in the platform; the one for the bellows, to come to the bottom of the tunnel, which are very large and keep constantly blowing the whole blast; the other to come at the metal which runs into a reservoir at the bottom of the tunnel, where it is ladled out. It appears like liquid fire. A potash kettle had just been cast, so that we saw only some cart-boxes cast while we were there. Returned in the evening by Esquire Sumner's. A cold, melancholy ride.

Feb. 22, *Sat.* Hunted in Purgatory with Mr. Dean and Mr. Penniman this afternoon, but found nothing. This evening the moon had a transit over Jupiter. I viewed her for half an hour before she obscured Jupiter, and could discern the whole body of the moon, Jupiter, and two of his moons, at the same time, situated thus: • ● • ⬤.

Mar. 3, *Mon.* Town meeting. This day allowed for schoolmasters to go to the meeting. Mr. Dean was kind enough to invite me to ride with him in the chaise to Dedham. Spent a very agreeable afternoon with Dr. Ames, Seth Ames, and N. Fisher. We formed ourselves into a Thursday-night Club; the gentlemen in the club to be Dr. Ames, Seth Ames, Fisher, West, Dr. Jerauld, and myself; to meet Thursday night of next week at Deacon Ellis' at Clapboard Trees.

[The West parish at Dedham was designated by the name of Clapboard Trees, and Deacon Ellis' Tavern, where the club was to meet, was located there. Doubtless political, as well as literary and scientific topics, furnished subjects for discussion.]

Mar. 7, *Fri.* Evening clear. Viewed Jupiter. All his moons appeared clear, thus: • ⬤ • ● •.

Mar. 21. A grand levee at Deacon Ellis'. Present: Dr. Ames, Dr. Jerauld, his Honor, etc. A very pleasant evening. Adjourned to next week.

Mar. 28, *Fri.* A second grand levee at Ellis' Inn. Present: Dr. Ames, Mr. Seth Ames, Dr. Jerauld, Mr. Nath'l Fisher, Mr. Battelle, and myself. In the first place we agreed to put ourselves under proper regulations—that there should be a President appointed, to act as Moderator, to propose all matters to the club, etc.; that there should be a Scribe to record the transactions of each meeting, and that we should be known and distinguished by some appropriate appellation. I had the honor to be appointed their President, Dr. Ames was appointed Scribe. Resolved, that we should be known as the Honorable Free Brothers' Club. Several regulations were then considered respecting our entertainments, etc., after which we spent a most agreeable social evening. Every member enjoyed the conversation without restraint, while their hearts glowed with fraternal affection, mutually wishing to each lasting happiness in the full enjoyment of the rights and liberties that are inherent privileges of the true born sons of freedom. At 9 o'clock, when we had in a frugal manner entertained ourselves—with no kind of spirits but our own country produce, viz., metheglin—the President adjourned till 6 o'clock next Friday evening, at the same place. Absent from necessity: Rev. D. West and Mr. Thomas Adams.

April 1, 1766. Concluded my school—between ninety and one hundred scholars. Bade them farewell, with some counsels, etc. In the afternoon only spelled, and concluded with catechising them.

Apr. 2. Studied; read Trapp on Popery, Mr. Edwards' Life, etc.

Apr. 4. At 6 o'clock the Free Brothers' Club convened at Mr. Ellis'. All the members present except Mr. Fisher. Present besides the members: Mr. Townshend, and Mr. West, student at college. Some further regulations were considered. Every mind was impressed with a lively sense of the pleasures and advantages arising from our fraternity. The opening rose breathes sweetness from its own nature, and the gentle clouds drop upon the earth, producing fruits, herbage, and flowers; so this society, formed and constituted to instill generous and catholic sentiments, and promote the edification and prosperity of all it should patronize, distilled tranquillity and happiness on all present. At 9 o'clock, adjourned till Friday next, at 3 o'clock.

Apr. 7, *Mon.* Mr. Edward Bullard informed me he saw a comet in the west on Friday and Saturday evenings last.

Rainy this evening, which disappointed my seeing the comet. Read a system of morality taken from an Indian manuscript, written by an ancient Brahmin, near China.

Apr. 9, *Wed.* Dined with Mr. Thomas Adams at Medfield. Dr. Jerauld, Mr. Adams, and I drank tea at Rev. Mr. Townshend's. In the evening a singing meeting in the school-house; sang well. Medfield, twenty miles from Boston, is a small town about four miles square. The land is level and well cultivated, and tolerably thickly inhabited, and the people are generally very good livers. Their Meeting House is large, though it was built sixty years ago.

Apr. 10. Spent the morning in viewing objects in the microscope. We could see that a hair has a path in the middle, by which moisture is conveyed from the nutritive vessels to the extremity of the hair. Fur is full of joints, which occasions its softness. Came home after breakfast by Wrentham and Walpole. Received an account of the meteor of the 2d of February from Miss Boyden. Read the Universal Spectator. Just before the closing in of daylight I discovered the comet of which I had heard. It was a little to the N. of the Sun's apparent path, and I found by a common quadrant that it was about 23° N. W. of the Bat's eye. The Moon was then about 10° to the S. W. of the comet, being the second day after its conjunction. Its train or tail was very long, though considerably dull. It appears to extend one foot and a half from the nucleus directly toward the zenith. Its nucleus appeared pale, much larger, though not so bright, as any of the fixed stars. It set 8 hours, 25 min. Its tail appeared after the nucleus was below the horizon.

April 11, *Fri.* Mr. Balch's lecture. Mr. Haven, Mr. Ward, Mr. Townshend, and Mr. Adams dined. Mr. Townshend preached a very ingenious sermon. After lecture, the singers came into Mr. Balch's, and sang very well. At 3 o'clock this afternoon, the Free Brothers convened at the usual place. Present: Dr. Ames, Mr. West, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Battelle, Dr. Jerauld, Mr. Adams, and myself. Free Brothers absent: Mr. Ames. Likewise present, Mr. Haven and Mr. Ward. The latter was admitted as a member. The peculiar and real advantages of the society were sensibly enjoyed by each member. At 9 o'clock, adjourned till the first Wednesday in May, at the house of Thomas Adams, in Medfield, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Free Brothers will again associate.

[Mr. Cutler left Dedham before the date of the next meeting of the club, and it is not mentioned again in his journal.]

Apr. 16, *Wed.* My brother and Caleb Clark here from Killingly. Went with them to Boston. Spent the evening with my old friend, Jack Watson.

Apr. 17, *Thurs.* Dined with Mr. Watson at Friend Bagnal's. P. M. we rode in the chaise to Cambridge. We drank tea in Whipple's chamber (though he has gone to Boston) with Austin and Hill, his chums, both from Boston. They treated us very genteelly, waited on us into the library, hall, dining-room, etc., which are very neat. The chief of the books in the library was Mr. Hollis' donation, neatly gilt and lettered. We had a very pleasant ride to Boston in the evening, and lodged at Bagnal's. News of the repeal of the Stamp Act. A large bonfire in King Street. Met sundry Connecticut gentlemen.

Apr. 19, *Sat.* My brother set out for Killingly. Painted my coat of arms.

Apr. 28, *Mon.* Much engaged in study. Mr. Daniel Leonard and Josias Quincy drank tea here. My horse, from home, per Captain Daniels.

Apr. 29, *Tues.* Rode to Boston. Heard nothing respecting the Stamp Act. Subscribed for the Universal Museum.

Apr. 30, *Wed.* Preparing to go home. Daniel Leonard and Josias Quincy drank tea again at Mr. Balch's. *Non nihil significat!*

[On the 1st of May Mr. Cutler returned to his Connecticut home; and on the 7th of the month went to Hartford, to attend the general election.]

May 7, *Wed.* Set out for Hartford. Dined at Waterman's, Mansfield, in company of the representatives, Colonel Putnam and Esq. I. Sumner. Arrived at Hartford, and put up at Colonel Wyllys'. Spent the evening with Bull, Howe, Walker, and Woodbridge (his college friends).

May 8, *Thurs.* General election. A large number of people here. Mr. Lee preached. Sundry of my class in town.

In the afternoon the votes were counted. His Honor, Thos. Fitch dropped, and Mr. Pitkin elected Governor; Jonathan Trumbull, Deputy Governor. Four of the Assistants dropped, and six new ones elected. A high campaign. Major Durkee and Colonel Putnam at the head.

[About two weeks after the last date, Mr. Cutler's home was visited with a heavy affliction in the unexpected death of Ephraim, his only brother; a young man of much promise, of a fine physical development, and a bright, genial nature, who had not yet completed his twenty-second year. The following extract from the journal gives an account of this event.]

May 21, *Wednesday.* Rode to Pomfret with Lyon in the morning and returned about 4 o'clock. Soon after I came home, my dear brother brought up his horse in order to ride to Mr. Rickards with Simeon and Joseph Lee, but had ridden only a few rods from the house when a hog started suddenly from the side of the road, and threw his horse upon him so as to nearly beat the breath out of his body. When first taken up and carried into the house, we could scarcely perceive that he breathed at all. Dr. Moffat, coming in immediately, let blood, which seemed in some measure to help his breathing. In a few minutes Dr. Torrey came in, and the doctors agreed to cup his neck, but it was of no service; he never opened his eyes or showed the least sign of reason or sense. About midnight he had strong convulsive struggles and was thought to be dying, but he got over them and breathed as before. Rev. Mr. Brown made two prayers, and he and Madam tarried all night. Many people in—

May 22. Just after day-break, as he appeared to be dying, Mr. Brown was called to make another prayer. As he recommended his soul to God who gave it, and prayed that his angels might guard him safe to eternal joy and happiness, he resigned his breath without a struggle, only straightening himself out on the bed. O, an awful instance of sudden and unexpected death! His head was much jammed and bruised as well as his body. It was thought he could not be kept till the next day; therefore his funeral was appointed at 5 o'clock. Notwithstanding it was so sudden, a very great number of people attended. Rev. Mr. Russel showed us his respect by coming down without being sent to. Our friends from Pomfret, Thompson, etc., came and returned back with us. Mr. Brown also tarried in the evening. He was well and in his grave in less than twenty-four hours. God grant that this may be an awakening to all to be always ready for so important a change, more especially those who are nearly concerned. My parents are very disconsolate.

[With the exception of a trip to New Haven in company with his classmate, Mr. Howe, and two or three short visits to Massachusetts, Mr. Cutler spent the summer of 1766 with his parents. His journal indicates the books with which he occupied his leisure: "Borrowed of Mr. Russel, Owen upon Hebrews and Hicks upon the Revelation of St. John." "Borrowed of Mr. Fisk, Mr. Williard and Poole's 2d vol." "Read Clapp's Ethics—much pleased." "Read Dr. Doddridge's Proofs of the Christian Religion, in three sermons. He makes it extremely clear." "Reading Mr. Edwards on the Freedom of the Will." "Read Dr. Young's Night Thoughts."

That Mr. Cutler felt at this time the importance of religion, and the claims of God upon him, is shown by his seeking the counsel of his pastor, and presenting himself as a candidate for church membership before "Mr. Brown's Committee, Deacon Larned and Elder Whitmore." He writes: "The questions asked were principally doctrinal; some were practical." "*July* 27, *Lord's Day.* Mr. Brown preached two very good discourses. After the sermon, P. M., I was admitted as a member of the church in full communion."

He probably at this time intended to prepare himself for a professional life, but was temporarily turned from his purpose. Mrs. Hannah Newman, the widow of Colonel John Newman, who had left a large estate, proposed to him to go to Martha's Vineyard and take charge of her business there. He accordingly visited the island, was satisfied with the prospect of a lucrative business, and decided to accept the situation offered. On his return, he was married to the eldest daughter of Rev. Thomas Balch,* of Dedham, and thus records the event.]

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* The Rev. Thomas Balch was graduated at Harvard College in 1733; and settled as the first pastor of the South Church, in Dedham, in

September 7. This day appointed to celebrate the marriage ceremony between myself and Miss Mary Balch. The guests invited to be present were: Nathaniel Sumner, Esq., and his lady; Mr. Robert Williams, of Boston, and his lady; Captain Nathaniel Dean, and his lady; Mr. Zebediah Clark, and his lady; Mr. Jonathan Dean, and his lady; Mr. Increase Sumner, and his lady; Deacon Everett, and his lady; Mr. Samuel Sumner, and lady; Mr. Benja. Sumner; Mr. Asa Everett; Miss Polly Sumner, and Miss Isa. Everett. A handsome supper was prepared. At 7 o'clock P. M. Rev. Mr. Balch performed the ceremony; after which a Psalm, applicable, was sung, supper served, and the evening spent in a very agreeable manner.

[Mr. Cutler removed at once to Martha's Vineyard, and was soon established as a merchant at Edgartown. The entries in his journal at this time are few, and generally brief. Mrs. Newman, who had committed the settlement of her affairs to him, was Mrs. Cutler's aunt. She had recently married her second husband, Jonathan Metcalf, Esq., of Dedham. Mr. Cutler took Mrs. Metcalf's goods on commission, at twenty per cent, and procured more from Mr. Cabot, and from Quincey & Deblois, of Boston. He writes: "Had as much custom as I could possibly tend. Received considerable money. Rarely dined till evening." The records, instead of daily, now become monthly.]

January, 1767. Set up singing meeting. Began to sing by rule, the first that has been practiced in this town. Meet twice a week at my house.

March. Was employed in two cases at the Bar, at the

1736. In 1744 he was appointed by the Committee of War a chaplain in the expedition against the French at Louisburg, and served in that capacity sixteen months. "He was a man of more than ordinary talents and intellectual attainments, and thoroughly orthodox faith." As a Christian, he was highly and deservedly esteemed. As a minister, he was wise to win souls to Christ, and ranked high as a preacher. He guided a number of young men in their theological studies, preparatory to the ministry. Mrs. Mary Balch, the mother of Mrs. Cutler, was the daughter of Edward Sumner, Esq., of Roxbury, a wealthy land-owner and prominent man. She is spoken of as an amiable, accomplished, and pious woman."—*Sprague's Annals Am. Pulpit; Durfee's Centennial Discourse, South Church, Dedham*, 1836.

Court of Common Pleas sitting here. My first attempt that way.

April. Whalemen fitted out for the Straits of Belle Isle, and Davis Straits. I fitted half with Preble.

May. Our whaling vessels sailed for the Western Islands. I fitted half with Captain Pease.

October. Captain Pease arrived with 260 barrels of oil from the Western Islands; Preble with 200 do.

[Besides these ventures on the sea, which were continued in successive years, he imported salt from Turk's Island, and notes the arrival of "my sloop, the Favorite, from the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas, laden with sugar, which I had supposed was lost, but she came into the Vineyard well conditioned."] In *November* of this year there were "Extremely hard gales of wind, and much shipwreck. Davis, a pilot from Homes' Hole, was lost going into Cape Ann. Butler was lost with all his crew, whaling on the southward ground."

The next year, 1768, in *July*, he "went to Connecticut, and was also at commencement at Cambridge. Sent up to New Haven a question to be put in the Thesis, and likewise for a degree."

September. Whalemen began to come in with good voyages. The 14th of this month brother Benjamin Balch * was ordained at Mendon. Likewise the same day was commencement at New Haven, when I suppose I had a second degree given me, tho' I was not present. [The degree was conferred.]

October. This month I fully determined to study Divinity, and accordingly began my study.

November. Prosecuted my study. Began to make sermons. May God grant me his blessing and assistance in so important an undertaking, and make me serviceable to the cause of religion, and the souls of my fellow men. Tho' I never engaged in this study with so firm resolutions before, yet I have for many years had very serious thoughts of entering the ministry. My inclination always led me to choose this employment rather than any other in the world, let it be ever so profitable, or promising.

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* Benjamin Balch, son of Rev. Thomas Balch, of Dedham, graduated at Harvard College, 1763. He was ordained the first minister of Mendon South Society, September 14, 1768; but resigned that position in 1772, and during the Revolutionary War was chaplain in the army and in the naval service. He was installed third minister at Barrington, N. H., August 25, 1784; and died May 4, 1816.—*Mann's Annals of Dedham.*

1769. *February* of this year began with a severe snowstorm. This harbor entirely frozen up without the Cape a considerable distance. The Sound was said to be frozen over near the West Chop of Homes' Hole. Ice froze out a considerable distance at sea the south side, some said as far as they could see from the land. Some mild weather toward the last of the month, but concluded with high winds.

March. Applied to the study of Divinity, with a determined resolution to prosecute it.

June, 1769. The 3d day of this month happened the Transit of Venus over the sun's disk. This rare phenomenon never happened, that was seen, but twice before since the Creation. The first was in the year 1639, and was seen by two persons only—Jeremiah Horrocks, a young English astronomer, who alone had predicted it, and a young friend of his, William Crabtree. The next was in 1761; and there will not be another happen until 1874, which will not be seen by this generation, or any now living. The Rev. Mr. Kingsbury and myself very carefully observed the beginning, both when it first touched the first part of the sun's limb, and when it was totally immersed. We had a very good perspective glass, with a smoked glass fixed within the case without the eyeglass, and could see both Venus and a number of nebulæ or black spots on the sun's surface. Venus came on to the sun's limb on the upper or northern part, and passed west of the center, and went off at the south-west limb. We were not certain that our watches were right, as we could not set them by a meridian for some days before it happened, on the account of its being cloudy, but I imagine my watch was not far from the sun. By my observation—

Began, 2 h. 50″ P. M.
Total immersion, 3 h. 5″
Middle, 6 h. 2″

One remarkable large spot near the sun's center.

September. Much engaged in setting my affairs, as I intend soon to go out of my present business, and engage in that of quite a different kind.

[*Nov.*, 1769. Mr. Cutler left the Vineyard with his family, and arrived in Dedham, November 13, in order to pursue his theological studies under the direction of his father-in-law, Rev. Thomas Balch.]

Nov. 14*th*, *Tues.* This day had my hair cut off, but with much reluctance. Had a dark wig.

Nov. 26*th*, *Lord's Day.* Preached (at Mendon) for Mr. Balch. Being the first time I ever entered the sacred desk, was something intimidated. In the forenoon preached from these words (Luke, 16: 31); "And he said unto him, if they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." And in the afternoon from 1st Cor. 3; 11: "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid which is Jesus Christ."

[Mr. Cutler continued his studies with Mr. Balch nearly two years, preaching in the meantime at different places, as Douglas, Wrentham, Roxbury, and Boxford.]

January 18, 1770. A remarkable Aurora Borealis. It began some time before the daylight disappeared, and extended from near due east to due west; appeared remarkably red near N.E. or N.N.E. The red was almost as bright a crimson as blood. There were constant streamers running up from east to west. It was unusually high up in the northern board, and the light continued nearly all night. This day being the Queen's birth day the cannons were discharged at the batteries in Boston, and were very loud and distinctly heard at Mr. Balch's (Dedham), notwithstanding there was snow on the ground.

March 6, *Tues.* Heard of four men being killed in Boston by the soldiers.

March 7, *Wed.* Heard more of the disturbances in Boston. [Boston massacre.]

March 12, *Mon.* Town meeting (at Douglas). A great number of gentlemen from neighboring towns. Prayed at the opening of the meeting.

March 13, *Tues.* A number of town people to visit me.

Committee earnestly desired my longer continuance. Gave them but little encouragement. From observations I made at town meeting thought it difficult to continue there.

March 21, *Wed.* Brother Balch and I rode to Boston. Intended to have gone to Cambridge, to the installment of Mr. Locke, but the storm prevented. Snowed hard.

March 28. Deacon Davis here from Roxbury to engage me to preach six Sabbaths.

April 8, *Lord's Day.* Preached at Mr. Walter's parish, Roxbury. Colonel Otis, Major Otis, and Colonel Williams present.

May 14, *Mon.* This day was appointed by the Church of Christ, in Douglas, to make choice of a gospel minister, and the town was likewise warned to meet to see if they would concur with the church in their choice. Previous to the meeting a lecture was attended. The Rev. Messrs. Hail and Webb were applied to and were present. Mr. Hall preached a sermon from these words in 2d Cor. 8 : 5 : "But first gave their own selves to the Lord." After service Mr. Hall and Mr. Webb were desired to be the Moderators, and the church proceeded to make choice of me for their minister by a unanimous vote. The ministers dined with me at Mr. Whitings. In the afternoon the town unanimously concurred in giving me a call to settle with them (Nem. Contr. Dic.), and voted £1,000 Old Tenor Settlement, £400 salary the first three years and then £450. Sundry persons offered private presents—Dr. Genison £100, Mr. Draper £50, Mr. Wood something handsome, etc. They likewise offered to build me a house gratis, and give me two years' provision, but this was in a private manner. Mr. Webb concluded with prayer.

May 18. (At Dedham.) The 29th Regiment of soldiers marched by—about 400—they made a very ordinary appearance. They marched all in one body; are to march from Boston to Providence by land, where they are to take shipping and go to the Jerseys, where they are destined. [To this regiment the soldiers engaged in the Boston massacre belonged.]

May 19. Some of the remainder of the soldiers and their women passed by.

May 30, *Wed.* General election. The Governor, by mandate of a minister of state, was pleased to order the General Assembly to convene at Cambridge. This was a measure so disagreeable to the people that none, except tools and dependents, attended at Cambridge, but resorted to the usual place. Dr. Chauncy having been appointed to preach a sermon in the old Brick Meeting House, a very large assembly, both of the clergy and gentlemen of distinction, convened. Mr. Mather began with prayer. Dr. Chauncy preached a very suitable discourse from Psalm 22: 4—"Our fathers trusted in Thee, they trusted, and Thou didst deliver them." The whole was concluded by an anthem admirably well sung by a select number of singers provided for that purpose. At 2 o'clock an elegant entertainment was provided in Faneuil Hall, and the clergy of every denomination were invited to dine. After dinner a number of healths were drank, and an ox, that had been roasted whole on the Common, was brought to Faneuil Hall, drawn on four wheels by horses, on the spit as he was roasted, with his head and horns on. A vast concourse of people to see the ox. Three cheers were given and a number of guns fired. The ox was drawn back to the Common, and there distributed to the poor. Mr. Balch and myself dined in the Hall. We came to Roxbury and lodged at Mr. Increase Sumner's.

July 11. Mr. Fitch and I rode down to Cambridge, in order to take our Degrees. We waited on the President in the forenoon and paid him for them. The expense of a Degree was 20s.L.M. We dined at Mr. Marsh's. In the afternoon was in the Library and Museum with Mr. Mayhew, Librarian. Mr. Fitch went from Cambridge to Boston, and I came home.

July 15, *Lord's Day.* (At Douglas.) After the exercises were over I read to them an answer to their call, and proposed to leave them for the present, and desiring them in the meantime to apply farther, and in case any gentleman should be so agreeable to them as to unite them, and they should incline to give him a call, I would give them a negative answer. If not, I might possibly see my way clear hereafter to settle with them.

July 18, *Wed.* This day Commencement at Cambridge. Father Balch and myself rode down in the chaise. The procession began about 11 o'clock, I walked next the class that Commenced Masters. The Salutatory Oration was delivered very handsomely—then a Dialogue in English; a Dialogue in Greek, Disputations Syllogistic; Dialogue in Chaldaic, three persons in the act, very handsomely performed; Do. on Public Educations, and Do. on Liberty in Imitation of the Romans. Dined in the Hall. In the afternoon Syllogistic Disputes, etc. I was the first person to whom President Locke gave the Degree of Master of Arts—walked at the head of the Masters, and had on a black gown and hat. Extremely hot. Came out to Roxbury and lodged there.

August 12, *Lord's Day.* Preached at Wrentham, South Parish. Sent a decided answer to Douglas.

Aug. 14, *Tuesday.* Mr. Whitefield preached at Mr. Bean's Meeting House in Wrentham; Mr Balch, Mr. Dean, my wife, and myself went up to hear him. Large assembly. He began his exercise at 8 o'clock. His prayer half an hour. Sang 3d Psalm, old version. Text, 11th Chap. Luke, 13th verse: "If ye being evil know how to give good gifts to your children; how much more shall your Heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him." His text was handsomely opened; his subject turned principally upon the necessity of the assistance of the Divine Spirit in performing all our duties. Had not so much as the heads of his sermon written—very flighty and rambling—his audience not over-much affected. He had many good expressions, and many very odd, and improper for the pulpit. Not at all pleased with him upon the whole, as his discourse was not at all enlightening and instructive, but very broken, and interwoven with impertinent stories. His gestures very extravagant, though natural and easy. His sermon an hour and a half, and all the substance, I imagine, might have been delivered handsomely in ten minutes. After meeting he had a coach at the Meeting House door, stepped in, and rode to Mr. Man's, where he refreshed himself, and set out immediately for Boston. He preached in his black gown. Came home after meeting. Rained considerably, which was much wanted, as it had been extremely dry.

Aug. 25. Returned to Wrentham. This week heard much of an uncommon worm that had been very frequent in many parts of the country. This worm very nearly resembles the worms that eat the roots of beans, but is something larger, being generally about an inch and a half long, and is smooth and striped on the back. Wherever these worms were, there was a very large number of them, and they entirely devoured large pieces of grass, corn, oats, barley, etc., in a few days after they began to eat it. They destroyed much grass in Fowl Meadow. They began at the top of the grass and eat downward, and entirely devoured the whole of the grass wherever they began upon it. I saw whole acres of grass, which I imagine was near as high as my waist, entirely eaten up, and the ground as smooth and looked as dry as common pasture land in a very dry season. I saw several worms, which were in the daytime gone down into the ground at the roots of the grass, for they eat only in the night, early in the morning, and just at sunset. They did great damage in Roxbury, vast numbers of them were in Boston, and in Charlestown they were so plenty that it was said the people could not walk on the pavements without treading on a large number every step they took, and that they came into their houses so that people were obliged to keep constantly sweeping to keep them out. In some of these towns they destroyed large fields of corn, and I was credibly informed that they came into their houses in such numbers, not only at the doors, but windows and elsewhere, that they got into their beds, and the people for many nights could not go to bed. They were in Connecticut and the Southern Colonies. They are supposed to be periodical, and that they come every twenty-five or twenty-seven years. It is said they were frequent about so long ago. They seem to move from one place to another in great bodies. Were first seen, I think, about the 25th of June, and I believe not many were seen after the 25th of July or 1st of August. Whether these worms are periodical or not, they were so distressing in many places that they seemed to be but little inferior to the plagues of Egypt.

Aug. 31. Studied. Invited to go to Boxford to preach.

September 1, *Saturday* Rode to Milton to hear Mr. Whitefield. The Lieutenant Governor present. Preached much better than at Wrentham. I liked his preaching well. Dined at Mr. Robins' with Father Balch, Mr. Taft, Mr. Weld, and Mr. Niles, a young candidate. Mr. Whitefield dined with the Governor.

Sept. 9. Preached at Wrentham. Good attention.

Sept. 10, *Monday.* A precinct meeting (at Wrentham). Voted that the standing committee for supplying the pulpit apply to Mr. M. Cutler, and desire him to preach eight Sabbaths more, in order for settlement, or any part of said time. Engaged six Sabbaths.

Sept. 12. Received the news that Governor Hutchinson had given up Castle William to the command of the Regular Troops, and had withdrawn the Province's garrison. Colonel Dalrymple took command Monday, at 4 o'clock. Made a great consternation in Boston. The Commissioners rode the next day about town in the greatest pomp.

Sept. 15, *Sat.* Set out for Boxford. Went through Mystic, and dined with Rev. Mr. Sherman, of Woburn. Rode through Wilmington, a very poor town, and Andover, a very wealthy one. Arrived at Boxford in the evening, and put up at Deacon Chadwick's.

Sept. 18 (having preached at Boxford on the 16th). Set out for Newbury; called at Mr. Balch's in Bradford; dined in Newbury; spent the afternoon in Newbury Port. A very pleasant town, beautifully situated on the mouth of Merrimack River, with a commodious harbor and considerable shipping; a very considerable number of houses and handsome streets; four large Meeting Houses, besides the church. Returned to Rev. Mr. Noble's and tarried there, two miles from town.

Sept. 19. Rode back to Mr. Balch's and spent the day with him; very agreeably entertained. Found Mr. Balch to be a very sensible, sociable gentleman. Much pleased with his farm, as well as his conversation. He said but little, if any thing, about disputable points in Divinity.

Sept. 20. Went from Bradford over the river to Haverhill, my mother's native place, but found none of her relations. Put up at a public house. Haverhill is a considerable large town, settled principally on the bank of the Merrimack River, and has a very handsome street on the east side of the river, fronting the south. Business appeared very lively. After dinner, crossed the river into the upper end of Bradford, which is likewise a pleasant town, situated on the south side of the river, and extends from Newbury to Andover. Went from thence to Boxford, which lays to the southward of Bradford. Tarried at Mr. Stephen Barker's, a very wealthy farmer.

Sept. 23, *Lord's Day.* Preached at Boxford. A very full meeting.

Sept. 24. The Committee applied to me to stay longer (at Boxford), but I was engaged at Wrentham. Set out home. Went through this parish, which is small but a very wealthy parish, to the other parish in Boxford, and called on Rev. Mr. Holyoke, who is the pastor there. From thence I came through Topsfield and Danvers, and then to Salem, and dined at Captain Goodhue's. The two former are wealthy country towns, and the latter is much larger than I imagined it to be. The number of houses seems to be great, but the streets near the town-house are very much pinched. A number of square-rigged vessels in the harbor. From Salem I rode to Marblehead. This town is the most unpleasantly situated of any town I ever saw. The buildings are very indifferent, Mr. Lee's excepted, which is, I think, the grandest dwelling-house* in the Province. The streets are filled with small children. A large number of fishing schooners in the harbor, and some merchantmen. Three Meeting Houses with steeples in the town. From Marblehead came through Lynn, which is famous for shoemakers and salt marsh. The town is pleasant, but is very far from having the appearance of wealth. The town is situated on a large plain. The Meeting House stands near the center of the town and is very old. It was built in the form that Meeting Houses were usually built in the first settlement of the country. The street through the town is broad, and has a large number of shoemaker's shops on each side. From Lynn came through Malden, over Penny Ferry to Charlestown. Lodged in Boston. Returned home the next day, much fatigued with my journey.

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*This house is still standing, and with its solid mahogany staircase and paper on the walls brought from England in Colonial times, is still one of the wonders of Marblehead.

Oct. 20. A very severe storm at N. E., wind extremely high. The storm began in the night and continued all day. Expect that much damage is done by sea and land.

Oct. 22. Heard that much damage was done in Boston by the late storm. A large number of vessels cast away, and people lost in Plymouth Bay and on the Cape.

Oct. 23. Rode to Boston with Brother Balch; saw much of the effects of the storm; several vessels cast away in the Harbor; a large quantity of timber brought up on the pavements and on the Neck.

[In November Mr. Cutler revisited Martha's Vineyard with Mrs. Cutler. He was busily occupied two weeks in settling accounts. November 11th he preached at Tisbury for Rev. Mr. Damon, and on the 18th for Rev. Mr. Kingsbury, at Edgartown.]

Nov. 25, *Lord's Day.* Mr. Balch preached at Wrentham on my account, and I preached for him at Dedham, in the new Meeting House, for the first time.

Dec. 6, *Thurs.* Thanksgiving through the Province. Preached at Wrentham and took my leave of the assembly. They had had two church meetings in order to give me an invitation to settle with them, but could not unite on account of former difficulties subsisting in the church.

Dec. 22, *Sat.* Message from Boxford. Set out with Mr. Jos. Robinson, who came for me. Extremely cold and very icy. Stopped at Mr. Fraser's, in Andover. It was so slippery that I could get my horse no farther. Left him and got another to ride to Boxford, where we arrived at 11 o'clock.

[The new year, 1771, found Mr. Cutler still supplying the pulpit at Boxford. He writes, facetiously, of his services there, thus]:

Jan. 13, *Lord's Day.* Preached. My discourses condemned as heretical.

Jan. 20, *Lord's Day.* Preached, and retrieved my character, in some measure, with the Sandemanians and Antinomians, as I sent them all to the de'il; but in the afternoon brought some of them back again, which was a little disagreeable.

Jan. 21, *Mon.* Set out from Boxford to visit the neighboring ministers. Dined at Mr. Russel's, in Bradford, and lodged with Mr. Baker.

Jan. 22, *Tues.* Rode down to Mr. Noble's, at Newbury-Newtown, and dined with him. After dinner rode down to the Port, and visited Mr. Marsh. Mr. Cary was gone to Boston. Called on Mr. Bass, a very agreeable, sociable gentleman. Called at several other places. Lodged at Mr. Noble's.

Jan. 23, *Wed.* Mr. Noble and I dined at Captain Little's, one of his parishioners. After dinner rode over to Mr. Parson's, of Byfield, and lodged with him.

Jan. 24, *Thurs.* Went with Mr. Parsons to see the Dummer School, Mr. Moody, Master. Very fine accommodations for instructing youth. It happened to be Mr. Parsons' lecture. Mr. Jewett, Mr. Chandler, Mr. Searle, and Mr. Moody dined with us. I was obliged to preach, tho' much against my inclination. Rode home with Mr. Chandler, of New Rowley, and tarried with him.

Jan. 29, *Tues.* Rode over to Andover to visit Mr. Symmes.

Jan. 30, *Wed.* (at Boxford). Invited to sup with Mr. Porter, the Churchman. This evening a petition was presented to the committee for supplying the pulpit, signed by forty-five of the heads of families. Two of the committee seemed not to be pleased with it, and I refused to comply with the request, which was that I should preach six more Sabbaths, in order to have a call. Invited to go to Ipswich Hamlet.

[Ipswich Hamlet was the third parish of Ipswich, in Essex County, one of the oldest towns in Massachusetts, pleasantly situated on each side of a river of the same name, one mile from the sea, and some thirty miles northward from Boston, but much nearer the large towns of Salem and Newburyport. It was settled, in 1633, by John Winthrop, Jr., and his companions, "of good ranke and quality," and was reputed to be "the best land in the colony for tillage and cattle, with an excellent harbor for ships and fine fishing." The governors, Dudley, Bellingham, and Bradstreet, and other persons of distinction, made it their dwelling-place. They were men of property, piety, and intelligence. Generations had passed;

the harbor was obstructed by sand bars, and fell into discredit; but the fishing, the tillage and pasture lands were still the same; and the people maintained their reputation for good morals and intelligence. At the time when Manasseh Cutler was invited to go to the Hamlet, the venerable Nathaniel Rogers and the erudite Joseph Dana ministered to the first and second churches in Ipswich. The Rev. Samuel Wigglesworth, "an eminent divine," had filled the then vacant pulpit of the third church at the Hamlet from the time of its formation, in 1714, until his death, in 1768, a period of fifty-four years.]

Jan. 31, *Thurs.* Wrote to the committee at the Hamlet, informing them that I should comply with their request, and be with them after two Sabbaths.

Feb. 8, *Fri.* Trees this morning very much loaded with ice, which the Indians supposed predicted a fruitful year. Mr. Balch's lecture. Mr. Haven preached. He has a very polite, agreeable delivery.

Feb. 15, *Fri.* Mr. Balch and I invited to dine with Mr. Pemberton, Jamaica Plains, Roxbury. Rode down in the morning. Mr. Jackson, of Brookline, and Mr. Eliot, Tutor at College, present. Mr. Balch preached the lecture. Rode to Roxbury Street, in my way to Ipswich Hamlet. Lodged at Mr. Samuel Sumner's.

Feb. 16, *Sat.* Arrived at the Hamlet in the evening. Lodged at Madam Whipple's.

Feb. 17, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Snowed almost all day. Not very many people at meeting.

Feb. 20, *Wed.* Read Dr. Whittaker's sermon on the death of Mr. Whitfield.

Apr. 1, *Mon.* Dined in Boston. Governor Shirley buried; a very grand funeral.

Apr. 18, *Thurs.* General fast, not only in this Province, but in Hampshire and Connecticut. Preached at the Hamlet. Read the Proclamation. Omitted singing.

May 1, *Wed.* This day Mr. Hitchcock, at Beverly, and Mr. Story, at Marblehead, were ordained. Attended at Beverly; a great number of people, but all behaved well; no disorder at all; a number of ministers and young preachers present.

May 6, *Mon.* The church (at the Hamlet) met at 5 o'clock to choose a minister. All present voted to give me a call to settle with them, except two, who refused to vote in the negative, but said the church were too hasty.

May 27, *Mon.* This day appointed to give me a call to settle with them in the ministry.

June 8, *Sat.* The parish appear very desirous that I should give my answer immediately. Rode to town and took advice with Rev. Messrs. Rogers and Dana. Mr. Rogers advised me to put into my answer my expectation of a support while the ministerial relation remains, and to make it the condition of my acceptance, which I accordingly did. Agreed to exchange, to-morrow, with Mr. Dana, who will read my answer, signifying my acceptance.

[The acceptance of the call to settle in Ipswich Hamlet is in these words:

To the Church and Parish in Ipswich Hamlet:

Dearly Beloved:—You having given me an invitation to settle with you in the work of the Gospel ministry, and having taken the same under serious and prayerful consideration, I must observe the work appears great and important, and I feel my own insufficiency, but relying on the great Head of the Church for grace and strength, and having a desire to devote myself to the work of the ministry, I find myself inclined to accept your invitation.

And as to the support you have been pleased to offer me, I hope it may be sufficient, and thank you for it, but must make it the condition of my acceptance that if I am settled with you you will afford me this support so long as my ministerial relation shall continue, and that you will from time to time afford me such a comfortable living as that I may devote myself to the work of the ministry; for he that preacheth the Gospel ought to live of the Gospel. Upon these conditions I signify my acceptance of your call. Begging your prayers for me, that I may come to you in the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel, that the work of the Lord may prosper, and that I may remember I must give an account how I preach, and you how you hear, so that we may both at last give up our account with joy, and live forever in the kingdom of God, I subscribe myself,

Your most affectionate friend, and laborer in the Gospel,

M. CUTLER.]

June 24, *Mon.* Church Committee with me to prepare a Covenant. Agreed to renew the old Covenant. I drew up a preamble and made some additions. At 4 o'clock the church met and approved the renewal of the Covenant, and then proceeded to choose churches to assist in ordination. Agreed that the ordination should be on the first Wednesday in August, and appointed a Committee to prepare letters missive, etc.

July 1, *Mon.* This afternoon the parish had a meeting to see if they would comply with the church and make further provision. They concluded, after much debate, not to have the ordination before the 11th day of September. A very great disappointment to me, and a real damage to the parish. The alteration made on account of provision.

Aug. 11, *Lord's Day.* Exchanged with Mr. Treadwell, of Lynn, who was gone to the Hamlet. After meeting Mr. Williams (of Boston) and I walked up the hill back of Mr. Treadwell's, where we had a fine view of the bay. We saw two men-of-war standing in for Boston, Admiral Montague in the Captain of sixty-four guns and the Lively of twenty-four. The Admiral's ship appeared very lofty, and made a fine show in the bay.

Aug. 12, *Mon.* Went to Boston this morning. Between 3 and 4 o'clock this afternoon the Admiral arrived and came to an anchor just below the Castle. She fired several times as she came up along, and was saluted from the Castle, and from the Beaver man-of-war, who lay down in King's Road. After she came to an anchor she hoisted a blue flag upon her mizzen. Commodore Gambier, who commanded the fleet in the harbor before the Admiral's arrival, still kept his flag up, which was red, flying upon his maintop gallant mast. I was upon Fort Hill, and saw the Admiral come up till he came to an anchor, before which, he fired a signal for all the captains of the other ships to come on board him. The barges immediately pushed off. Came out of town and arrived at the city of Tiot (Dedham) about 9 o'clock.

Aug. 13, *Tues.* Minister's meeting at Mr. Haven's. Rode down with Mr. Balch. Mr. Payson, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. West, Mr. Prentice, and the Hon. Samuel Dexter, Esq., present. Had a very handsome dinner. Mr. Balch opened the meeting with prayer, and Mr. West closed it.

Sept. 7, *Sat.* Set out for Ipswich Hamlet, expecting not to return till after ordination.

Sept. 10, *Tues.* Preparing for ordination. My friends arrived from Dedham and Killingly. All the Council from the southward came in.

Sept. 11, *Wed.* This day was appointed by the church for my ordination. A very clear, pleasant day. About 10 o'clock the Council formed at the house of Mrs. Wigglesworth, where the parish had made provision for them. The Council consisted of the pastors of ten churches and their delegates, viz: The Rev. Mr. Rogers, of the First Church in Ipswich, Deacon Low, Mr. Appleton, and M. Crocker, delegates; the Rev. Mr. Dana, of the South Parish in Ipswich, Deacon Potter, Deacon Foster, Esquire Appleton, and Captain Smith, delegates; Rev. Mr. Jewett, of Rowley, Deacon Jewett, and Deacon Mial, delegates; the Rev. Mr. Parsons, of Byfield, Colonel Gerrish, and Deacon Coleman, delegates; the Rev. Mr. Leslie, of Linebrook, Deacon Potter, Deacon Chaplin, and Mr. How delegates; Rev. Mr. Payson, of Walpole, Esquire Clap, delegate; Rev. Mr. Balch, of Dedham, Nathaniel Sumner, Esq., Deacon Everett, and Mr. Jonathan Dean, delegates; Rev. Mr. Haven, of Dedham, Deacon Richards, and Jonathan Metcalf, Esq., delegates; Rev. Mr. Brown, of Killingly, Mr. Hezekiah Cutler, and Mr. Joseph Torrey, delegates; Rev. Mr. Balch, of Mendon, Mr. Benson, and Mr. Wheelock, delegates. Every church that was sent to was represented, and all the delegates that were expected met. After prayer to God for light and direction, the Rev. Mr. Rogers was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Mr. Parsons, Assistant; the Rev. Mr. Dana, Clerk.

The votes of the church giving me a call to the work of the ministry, the parish's vote of concurrence, and my answer, were called for and read. Deacon Patch, Deacon Whipple, and Mr. Thompson, who were appointed to represent the church, were called to answer for them; I was likewise called to answer for myself. The Council proceeded to hear the objections, which two of the church and one of the congregation had against my settling. After giving them a full hearing, and the Council's deliberating thereon, it was unanimously (*nemine contradicente*) voted, 1st, that nothing was objected of any weight against my doctrines; voted unanimously, 2d, that nothing appeared against my moral character or conduct. I then exhibited to the Council a Confession of Faith. Questions were asked me concerning my faith, and with respect to my experimental acquaintance with the great truths of the Gospel, and my views in undertaking the work of the ministry, and the answers which I gave were satisfactory. Then, the question being put, it was unanimously voted that the way was clear to proceed to ordination.

The church, who had convened in the chamber, formed in the yard at the front door, and walked first to the Meeting House, two and two; I walked next, the Council after me, and then a number of ministers. At the front door of the Meeting House the church opened to the right and left. I walked in first and opened the pulpit door for those gentlemen that sat in the pulpit.

The singers had placed themselves in the front gallery, and by my desire they began the solemnity with an anthem. Then Mr. Brown made the first prayer; Mr. Balch, of Dedham, preached from 2d Cor., 5th Chap., 18th verse: "And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation." A very good and suitable sermon. Then Mr. Parsons introduced the ceremony and prayed before the charge. Mr. Rogers gave the charge, Mr. Payson prayed after the charge, and Mr. Leslie gave the right hand of fellowship. Then I appointed of the 132d Psalm, Mr. Watts' version, from the pause to the end, four verses, common meter, to be sung. I then gave notice that an anthem would be sung after the blessing was given. Deacon Patch then desired all the ordained ministers to repair to Mrs. Wigglesworth's for refreshment. I then gave the blessing, and an anthem concluded the solemnity. The first anthem that was sung was, "I was glad when," etc. The last, I think, was called the Daughters of Judah, or the Daughters of Jerusalem. All the parts were conducted with great decency and decorum. There were a vast concourse of people, the house was thronged exceedingly; the broad alley was so filled that it was with the greatest difficulty that the Council got into the Meeting House. It was judged that not more than half the people were able to get into the house. We had a very handsome entertainment provided at Mrs. Wigglesworth's. Mr. Obediah Parsons undertook the business.

I came up from Madam Whipple's in the morning, where I had boarded ever since I came to the Hamlet. In the evening returned to Madam Whipple's; I had slept little, or none, the night before, and was now very much fatigued.

Sept. 12, *Thurs.* All the Council that belonged to the southward returned, and I went with them. My father and Mr. Brown stopped in Boston. Father Balch, Brother Balch, and I lodged in Roxbury.

Sept. 15, *Lord's Day.* Rode down and preached for Mr. Haven. In the afternoon returned and preached the same sermon in Mr. Balch's parish. My father at meeting.

Sept. 18, *Wed.* The teams, with our goods, set out this morning for the Hamlet. After dinner we took our leave of Father Balch and his family, where we had lived a long time in a very agreeable manner, and had received the greatest kindness from them. Mr. Moses Everett and Sister Lucy, Sister Irene, and Betsey Cushing came with us. We lodged at Cambridge; Mrs. Cutler and I at Deacon Prentice's.

Sept. 19, *Thurs.* This morning we called on Madam Holyoke, where Deacon Whipple and his wife were lodged, in order to set out with us. Captain Dean and his wife, and Brother Dean and his wife, came this morning to accompany us to Ipswich. There were six carriages in company. At Danvers we met a considerable number of the parish, and at Beverly a larger number, who came out to meet us, and to accompany us home. We arrived at the Hamlet, at Madam Wigglesworth's house, about 3 o'clock, where we are to live and where the people had provided a very handsome entertainment. Soon after our arrival our goods came. We set them up and then sang a Psalm. The people show us many marks of kindness and respect. A remarkably pleasant day.

Sept. 22, *Lord's Day.* Mr. Emerson, of Reading, preached for me. I conducted Mrs. Cutler to the parsonage pew, and invited Mrs. Wigglesworth to sit in it.

[Mrs. Wigglesworth was the widow of Rev. Samuel Wigglesworth, Mr. Cutler's predecessor.]

Sept. 28, *Sat.* Visited sick. Sat up almost all night to get prepared for the Sabbath.

Sep. 29, *Lord's Day.* Preached the first time after ordination. Esquire Mansfield, Mr. Lancaster, Mr. Sewell, Professor of Languages, and lady, and many other strangers, were at meeting. A very full assembly. After meeting Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Sewell and lady, drank tea at our house. Mr. and Mrs. Lancaster called.

Oct. 3, *Thurs.* The young ladies of the parish came to visit us, and presented me half a dozen bands.

Oct. 4, *Fri.* Appointed this day to catechise the children, and they met at half after three o'clock at the Meeting House; about sixty in number.

Oct. 6, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Two persons received the Covenant, and an infant of Paul Dodge's baptized. The first time that I administered the Covenant, or the ordinance of baptism.

Oct. 8, *Tues.* Received the Salem paper and the Boston Gazette by the Post.

Nov. 10, *Lord's Day.* I preached at Salem, at Mr. Barnard's Meeting House. A full congregation. The Superior Court was then sitting. The most of the judges and gentlemen of the law were at that meeting. Mr. Lancaster preached for me.

Nov. 14, *Fri.* In Boston with Mrs. Cutler. Took the Gospel Magazine.

Nov. 20, *Wed.* Much engaged. Married the first couple I ever joined together.

Nov. 21, *Thurs.* General Thanksgiving through the Province.

I did not read the Proclamation in the morning, on account of some exceptional clauses, but had read it the Sabbath before. Began the solemnity with an anthem; made a short prayer for the Divine blessing and suitable frame of spirit, then sang, then prayer and thanksgiving, then sang and preached as usual. Sang after prayer, concluding the solemnity with two anthems.

Nov. 22, *Fri.* Mr. Murray preached a lecture at 10 o'clock. A vast concourse of people, supposed to be at least 3,000. Mr. Cleaveland with him, and sat in the pulpit. Mr. Murray and Mr. Cleaveland, Mr. Maxwell and lady dined with us. After dinner Messrs. Swain, Hitchcock, Barnard, and Mansfield to see me. Sent my horse and chaise to Boston for Mr. Robert Williams and lady, who arrived this evening.

Dec. 5, *Thurs.* Lecture. Mr. Hitchcock preached. He and his lady and Mr. Dana dined with us. Mr. Swain came in after meeting began.

Dec. 6, *Fri.* Very stormy, snow fell a considerable depth, and very much drifted. Was to go and preach Mr. Hitchcock's lecture, but the storm prevented.

Dec. 20, *Fri.* A great deal of company.

Dec. 21, *Sat.* Studied.

Dec. 22, *Lord's Day.* Was forced to preach an old sermon; took the first I preached here. This is the first time I ever repeated a sermon to the people.

Dec. 20, *Fri.* Preached at lecture at Mr. Kings, on account of old Mrs. Fellows, who has been unable to come to meeting for a long time.

CHAPTER II.

PARISH LIFE—REVOLUTIONARY WAR—CHAPLAIN—EXPEDITION TO RHODE ISLAND—STUDIES AND PRACTICES MEDICINE.

Mar. 4, 1772, *Wed.* Parish Meeting. Voted to make use of Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns, and voted to revive the Contribution (which had been discontinued since 1763). Mr. Justice Appleton, from town to swear the officers, visited me. I was sent for to open the Meeting with prayer.

Mar. 26, *Thurs.* Stormy. At Mr. Rogers' lecture. Very bad riding. I preached.

Apr. 2, *Thurs.* Annual fast. Preached. Full congregation.

Apr. 6, *Mon.* Dr. Adams, from Cape Cod, to see me. Rode to town and attended Inferior Court. Heard Mr. Justice Cushing give the charge to the grand jury. Very extraordinary.

Apr. 12, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Sacrament. Six baptisms.

Apr. 15, *Wed.* Marking out my garden.

May 14, *Thurs.* At Robert Dodge's, at a raising.

May 15, *Fri.* John Whipple, the third, went to Boston for the Psalm Books, which the parish agreed to furnish themselves with, being about 120 in number.

May 18, *Mon.* This day the wife of Rev. Mr. Dana was buried. She departed this life, after a long state of languishment, in the 28th year of her age. The bearers were Mr. Jewett, Mr. Chandler, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Cleaveland, Mr. Leslie, and myself. Mrs. Cutler attended the funeral with me.

May 24, *Lord's Day.* Preached sermons Nos. 63 and 64, by the desire of some of the parish who had heard them before.

May 27, *Wed.* Election of Councillors. Mr. Williams and I rode from Boston over to Cambridge. Dined with the Governor and Council in public. In the library. Returned to Boston.

May 28, *Thurs.* At Convention. Dined at Mr. Howard's.

June 4, *Thurs.* (in Boston). The Regiment mustered. King's birthday. The Admiral's ship dressed in colors. The troop, twelve companies, one of Grenadiers, and one of Artillery, marched from the Common to King's Street, where they fired volleys; made a handsome appearance.

June 9, *Tues.* The young women, twenty-three in number, came to spin, and brought materials. They spun forty-two and a half skeins of linen, worsted, and tow-yarn, which they gave to Mrs. Cutler.

June 11, *Thurs.* Raised my barn. Sent to every house in the parish an invitation to come to the raising. A great number of people came. We provided a handsome supper.

July 1, *Wed.* Preached Mr. Emerson's lecture at Topsfield. Captain Cummings with me.

July 15, *Wed.* At Cambridge. Saw many of my old friends. Pretty good Commencement.

July 25, *Sat.* Studied very hard. This evening a very remarkable Northern Light. A remarkably bright stream in the west, which ran up from the horizon almost to the zenith. The light was also in the east, where it kept in constant motion, like the waves of the sea, the waves as plainly to be seen as at sea in a storm.

Aug. 2, *Lord's Day.* Preached to the young people; a pretty full assembly.

Aug. 4, *Tues.* At Ministers' Meeting at Mr. Holt's. Mr. Dunbar preached. A new scheme. A very great number of ministers present.

Aug. 8, *Sat.* (at home). Mr. Walley and his wife, from Boston, came to keep Sabbath. This evening the most terrible thunderstorm I ever knew. It began about 11 o'clock, and continued one hour and a half. The lightning was almost incessant and very sharp, and the claps of thunder very hard. We all got up, and Mr. Walley made a prayer. The storm abated before 1 o'clock. The wind was very moderate, and the rain not extreme.

Aug. 9, *Lord's Day.* Mr. Walley preached. I made the first prayer, and took particular notice of the thunderstorm by beginning public worship with a psalm peculiarly suited to the occasion, and also in my prayer. Mr. Walley did the same.

Aug. 13, *Thurs.* My lecture. A good deal of company. Dr. Whittaker preached. Father Balch, Mr. Swain, Mr. Dana, and Mr. Hitchcock present. Dr. Whittaker's lady and Miss Dodge, from town, Mr. Lancaster and his wife, from Beverly, at meeting, and drank tea.

Sept. 7, *Mon.* Visited about the parish. This evening friends came from Dedham—Dr. Barker, Mr. Moses Everett, and Andrew Everett.

Sept. 18, *Fri.* Dr. Rust and his lady, Mr. Savage and his lady, to visit us from Salem. Walked upon Brown's Hill, and had a fine look out. Could see the Isle of Shoals very plain with the glass.

Sept. 22, *Tues.* Mrs. Cutler and I visited at Mr. Champney's and Mr. Chipman's, in Beverly.

Oct. 10, *Sat.* The late extraordinary rains occasioned a very great freshet, a vast deal of hay lost, and all the salt hay much damaged. So rainy a season in the latter part of summer and early fall is scarcely to be remembered by the oldest men.

Nov. 11, *Wed.* Attended Mr. Obediah Parsons' ordination with my delegates, Deacons Patch and Whipple, and Mr. Samuel Brown. The Council convened at Mr. Norwood's, and appointed me to begin with prayer. Mr. Parsons, of Byfield, preached from 2d Cor. 3 : 6. Mr. Chandler gave the charge. Mr. Cleaveland prayed after the charge, and Mr. Rogers gave the right hand of fellowship. An Anthem began and concluded the solemnity.

Jan. 1, 1773. Studied. Invited to sup with Mr. Robert Dodge. A very handsome supper.

Jan. 5, *Tues.* At Salem; remarkably pleasant; many people plowing. Mr. Paul Dodge buried.

Jan. 13, *Wed.* Mrs. Cutler and I went to Salem to attend Mr. Barnard's ordination. A very clear, cold day. A great concourse of people.

Feb. 11, *Thurs.* At Mr. Chandler's lecture, New Rowley.

Preached; a number of my old friends from Boxford to hear me.

Feb. 21, *Lord's Day.* A remarkably cold day. But few people at meeting, and most of them were frozen in some of the extremities of the body.

Feb. 22, *Mon.* Extremely cold last night. Many persons were alarmed by frequent noises and concussions, much resembling earthquake. Was very sensible of one myself. I heard a loud noise, like the falling of a large stick of timber, and there was a shaking of my bed at the same time. The noise and the shaking were over in an instant of time. The people observed in many places in the ground and hard snow (which was about six inches deep and very hard, sufficient to bear a team), where large and extensive cracks appeared, much like those in a pond of thick ice, toward the spring. These appearances seem to account for the noises and concussions. From the Essex Gazette we learn that yesterday, at 2 o'clock P. M., the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 5 degrees below zero, which shows the cold to have been more severe than, perhaps, ever was known with us at that time of day. This morning, at half an hour after sunrise, the mercury had descended to about 9½ degrees below zero, which is 41½ degrees below the freezing point. This day visited sundry sick.

Feb. 28, *Lord's Day.* Pleasant, much like the spring of the year. Preached without my cloak, a remarkable alteraiton in the weather since last Sabbath. A pretty full meeting.

Mar. 12, *Fri.* Baptized a very sick child of Josiah Poland, at his house.

Apr. 15, *Thurs.* General fast. Preached. A very full meeting. Several strangers.

May 27, *Thurs.* Attended Convention at Boston. Dined at Mr. Mathers'.

June 8, *Tues.* Attended ministers' meeting at Mr. Hale's, Newbury. Mr. Dana and I went and returned together. Took a view of Mr. Dalton's country-seat—very elegant. Went up to the walk on the top of the house, where we had a most extensive and agreeable prospect. Mr. Leslie preached the lecture, afternoon.

June 10, *Thurs.* Mr. Howe, from Boston, to visit me. [Rev. Joseph Howe, a classmate at Yale.] We attended Mr. Dana's lecture. Mr. Howe preached a very refined, agreeable sermon. After lecture, Mr. Howe set out on his way to Portsmouth.

June 14, *Mon.* Mr. Howe returned with Mr. Quincy, but did not tarry.

June 15, *Tues.* The Superior Court passed by in their way to town, attended by the Sheriff of the County and a number of his under sheriffs.

June 22, *Tues.* Dr. Whitney and I invited by Esq. Jewett to attend the launching of a sloop, which we did. Dined at Mr. Treadwell's. Mr. Jewett and Mr. Lancaster present. At evening, attended a funeral.

July 10, *Sat.* Two very fine showers of rain. Thunder very hard. Struck a tree in the parsonage lot, quite near the house. Mr. Tappan, of Manchester, and Mr. Wadsworth, of Danvers, came to seek a change. Mr. Tappan went to Danvers; Mr. Wadsworth tarried here. I concluded to preach for Mr. Leslie; Mr. Leslie was to preach for Mr. Adams, of Haverhill; Mr. Adams, for Mr. Peabody; Mr. Peabody, for Mr. Tenny, of Barrington; and Mr. Tenny, for Mr. Tappan.

July 19, *Mon.* Visited about the parish. Catechised the children.

July 22, *Thurs.* Went to Boston. Attended Convention. The Convention received a vote of a Committee appointed at the Annual Convention to make a draft of what appeared to be the true meaning and intention of the Platform respecting church order and discipline, and what had been the sense in which the churches had conceived and practiced. The report being twice read, first through in course, and then paragraph by paragraph, it was unanimously voted, N. C. D. Attended lecture at the Old Brick. Mr. Bacon preached an high orthodox sermon. Dined at Dr. Pemberton's, and came home in the evening.

Sept. 12, *Lord's Day.* Very stormy. Had prepared to preach upon the duty of reading the Scriptures, but the stormy weather prevented many of the people from coming to meeting, so that I concluded to leave the subject until the next Sabbath, and preached old sermons.

Oct. 17, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Very much alarmed at a remarkable breaking-out upon Parker Dodge, supposed to be the small-pox. As I was in imminent danger, supposed I had taken it.

Oct. 18, *Mon.* It was confirmed by Dr. Manning that Dodge, who died last night, had the small-pox. So much surprised, that I concluded to go to Essex Hospital,* which is to be opened this day for receiving patients. Set out with Dr. Whitney and Mr. Robert Dodge, and went down in a boat from Beverly to Cat Island, where the Hospital is erected. Arrived about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Went up to the Hospital, and found Dr. Jackson and Mr. Gerry, who gave me encouragement that I should have a berth. I should have been inoculated, but the doctor had not brought down his bandages. He gave us physic, and promised to come from Marblehead early in the morning, and inoculate us.

Oct. 19, *Tues.* This morning very rainy. Sent for Dr. Jackson. He came about 11 o'clock. I should then have been inoculated, but Mr. Gerry would not consent to have any matter opened, until all were gone from the Island who were going that night. The people, by this time arrived in several vessels from Marblehead, and thronged the Hospital. As I was not a signer, I had no right to plead for a berth, and presently found I could not be accommodated, and was obliged, after I had taken physic, to go off the Island. Got to Marblehead about sunset, and came to Mr. Balch's, at New Mills, and tarried with him.

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* The Hospital at Cat Island was erected by Azer Orne, Jonathan Glover, John Glover, and Elbridge Gerry, of Marblehead. Dr. Hall Jackson, an eminent physician of Portsmouth, N. H., who had distinguished success in treating small-pox, was appointed superintendent, and, October 16th, entered upon his duties. The people of Marblehead, apprehending that the dread disease, by means of the Hospital, might become a pestilence among them, were violently opposed to it; and a party of men completely disguised, on the night of January 26, 1774, went to the Island and set fire to the Hospital, which had been temporarily closed, and the buildings, with their contents, were destroyed. See *Road's Hist. Marblehead.*

Oct. 21, *Thurs.* About the parish among the sick.

Oct. 26. Visited a number sick with a fever.

Oct. 31, *Lord's Day.* Preached to a very full meeting. A great many notes.

Nov. 10, *Wed.* Attended the funeral of Mrs. Swain. A large funeral. Mrs. Cutler went with me. Mr. Willard prayed. Mr. Willard, myself, Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Miller, and Deacon Kimball were pall-bearers. Mr. Tappan and the ministers in Salem were sent to, but did not come. After we returned from the grave to the house, we had a supper of cold provision, and a glass of wine, which was provided by the people. The town (Wenham) was so generous as to bear the expense of Mrs. Swain's funeral.

Nov. 11, *Thurs.* Dr. Whitney returned this evening from the Hospital at Cat Island, in perfect health; likewise Mr. Robert Dodge, having had the small-pox very light.

Nov. 25, *Thurs.* Annual Thanksgiving. Brother Balch and sister, Mr. Moses Brown, Mr. O'Brien, and Miss Hannah Balch, kept Thanksgiving with us. Preached; and, after the exercise, the people had a contribution for the poor, and there appeared to be a very handsome collection.

Dec. 21–23, *Thurs.* Studied hard, and finished both my sermons.

Dec. 25, *Sat.* Dr. Whitney went with me to Church in Salem. Mr. Gilchrist preached in the morning, and Mr. Nichols in the afternoon. Dined at Dr. Rust's. A warm, pleasant Christmas.

Dec. 26, *Lord's Day.* Preached a Christmas sermon.

Dec. 27, *Mon.* This evening Mr. Asa Everett came from Dedham with the melancholy news that Mr. Balch was dangerously sick.

Jan. 8, 1774, *Sat.* This day my honored father, the Rev. Mr. Balch, departed this life, at 8 o'clock in the morning, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his ministry. An irreparable loss to his family and friends, and much lamented by his people. He left a sorrowful widow and seven children to lament his exit.

Jan. 13, *Thurs.* This day the Rev. Mr. Balch was interred.

The parish buried him in a very honorable manner. Eight ministers were appointed as pall-bearers, and four under-bearers, or porters. He was carried from his own house to the Meeting House. The Rev. Mr. Dunbar prayed, then two hymns in the Funeral Thoughts were sung; then the Rev. Mr. Payson prayed. The coffin was then opened, and all the people had an opportunity to see the corpse; after which the funeral procession began, and was very long. The sexton went first, then the Church, then the body, then the mourners and friends, then the parish, then strangers. I was unable (from a severe attack of pneumonia) to go out, but ventured down to see the corpse, before it was carried out of the house.

Feb. 24, *Thurs.* Fast at town on account of small-pox. I was sent for, and attended.

Mar. 1, *Tues.* Visited the people. This day received the first number of the Royal American Magazine.

Mar. 17, *Thurs.* Preached a lecture at Deacon Whipple's, by the desire of his daughter, Hannah, who, for a long time, has been detained from meeting on account of the ill state of her health. A full meeting. [These lectures were continued weekly for forty years.]

Mar. 22, *Tues.* Attended Judge Ropes' funeral, at Salem.

Mar. 27, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Sacrament. A full meeting. Proposed to the Church to read a portion of Scripture at the beginning of public worship.

April 3, *Lord's Day.* Began to read the Scriptures. Read the first Psalm in the morning, and the first chapter of Matthew in the afternoon. Esq. Mansfield, of Marblehead, dined with us.

Apr. 19, *Tues.* Received the melancholy news of the death of my honored mother. She departed this life on the 8th inst. after a very short illness. Blessed are they that die in the Lord.

Apr. 20, *Wed.* Set out for my father's.

Apr. 24, *Lord's Day.* Preached at Killingly to a very attentive and much affected congregation.

May 4, *Wed.* Madam Holyoke came to visit us. Dr. Cooper and lady, of Boston, here.

May 8, *Lord's Day.* Preached to a large congregation.

Began to read in the large folio Bible presented to the church and parish by Madam Whipple.

May 10, *Tues.* Attended the funeral of the Rev. Mr. Jewett, of Rowley. Mr. Hale made a prayer in the Meeting House, the corpse being in the broad alley. Mr. Chandler preached a sermon, and Mr. Parsons made a speech at the grave.

June 30, *Thurs.* Fast on account of the melancholy situation of our public affairs. A very full meeting. Carried on the whole exercise myself.

July 5, *Tues.* Minister's meeting at Wenham. Mr. Adams, of Roxbury, preached a very honest, serious, good sermon. A very fine dinner. The two Mr. Barnards, Mr. Dunbar, Mr. Willard, and Mr. Hitchcock, present.

July 14, *Thurs.* Fast in most of the towns in the Province. In the afternoon rode to Topsfield to attend the funeral of Mr. Emerson. Mr. Leslie and Mr. Holyoke were applied to for assistance in their fast, and the funeral was attended after these exercises were over. A great number of people present. The bearers had gloves and weeds.

Aug. 7, *Lord's Day.* Preached at Beverly for Mr. Willard. This day Madam Whipple departed this life. One of my best friends in the parish.

Aug. 9, *Tues.* Madam Whipple buried. The largest funeral and attended with the most solemnity and good order of any person's that has yet been buried in this place since my settlement. She was laid in the tomb where Major Epes and his family are laid, and Deacon Whipple, her consort.

Aug. 10, *Wed.* Went to Salem to prove her will.

Sept. 1, *Thurs.* In Boston. Viewed the regiments on the Common and Fort Hill.

Sept. 2, *Fri.* Returned home by way of Cambridge, in order to see the vast number of country people, who were assembling at Cambridge in consequence of the powder, in the Arsenal at Medford, being seized by the Governor. There were about 4,000 men.

Sept. 6, *Tues.* The County Congress sat at Ipswich. Went over to hear the debates. They made a very handsome appearance.

Sept. 26, *Mon.* Mrs. Cutler and I set out for Dedham.

We passed through Boston, and observed the intrenchments the soldiers were throwing up, upon the Neck, to defend themselves against the country people.

Sept. 27, *Tues.* Brother Balch and I rode to Dorchester to attend Mr. Everett's ordination.

Sept. 28, *Wed.* This day Mr. Moses Everett* was ordained. The Council sat at Dr. Holden's. It consisted of ten churches. Mr. Robbins began with prayer, Mr. Haven preached, Mr. Dunbar gave the charge, Dr. Cooper made the concluding prayer, and Dr. Eliot gave the right hand of fellowship. Fine day and large concourse of people.

Oct. 4, *Tues.* I attended the Council at Chebacco with the delegates of our church. The Council adjourned to this day three weeks.

Oct. 25, *Tues.* The Council sat again at Chebacco.

Oct. 26, *Wed.* The Council convened again, and finally united the two churches in Chebacco into one, and gave them the right hand of fellowship.

Dec. 8, *Thurs.* Training Lieutenant Robert Dodge's company. I marched over with the company and dined with him.

Dec. 15, *Thurs.* Thanksgiving appointed by the Provincial Congress, and not by the Governor. A proclamation or resolve from them was sent to all the ministers in the Province. A wet, lowering day. A contribution made for the poor. In the evening attended three weddings.

Jan. 19, 1775, *Thurs.* Captain Patch made an entertainment for his company. Mrs. Cutler and I were invited. A very fine entertainment.

Jan. 25, *Wed.* A lady came to our house, who has made a great noise in the country, and has been the occasion of various conjectures. She calls herself Carolina Augusta Harriet, Duchess of Brownstonburges. Says she has resided in the Court of England for several years; that she eloped from the Palace of St. James. She appears to be a person of an extraordinary education, and well acquainted with things at Court, but she is generally supposed to be an imposter.

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* Rev. Moses Everett, of Dorchester, graduated in 1771 at Harvard University. He married November 24, 1774, Miss Lucy Balch, of Dedham, a sister of Mrs. Cutler. Mr. Everett died March 25, 1813.

Jan. 28, *Sat.* Our extraordinary visitor left us. I conveyed her to town in a chaise.

March 21, *Tues.* Attended the funeral of Rev. Mr. Chipman, of Beverly.

[There are many gaps in the Journal from torn or lost leaves. Such a one occurs here, and only a part of the record of the memorable 19th of April remains.]

. . . toward the army. At sunset we got almost into Cambridge, and met with our people just after they fired their last gun. The British fought upon a retreat from Concord to Cambridge, where they had boats to take them on board for Boston. It is not known how many were killed on either side. Mr. Willard and I went to College, and from thence to Mr. Holyoke's, where we lodged.

Apr. 20, *Thurs.* A vast number of men in Cambridge, and coming in from all quarters. We went to Metomeny to see the dead. The regulars lay principally in the streets, but our men in houses and barns. It was supposed that about 30 provincials and 50 regulars were killed. In the afternoon we returned home. Mr. Jackson and Brother Balch and family came to our house.

Apr. 21, *Fri.* Set out for Cambridge again. Rode to Newell's, in Lynn. Upon hearing that the soldiers were making such movements that it was thought that they would strike upon Salem or Marblehead we returned. This night an alarm from Ipswich, but nothing more.

May 1, *Mon.* Dr. Whitney marched to Cambridge with his company.

May 2, *Tues.* Mr. Balch and I rode to Cambridge. Saw the Stockbridge Indians burn the head of General Gage upon the green. Rode to Roxbury, and lodged at Dr. Holden's at Dorchester.

May 3, *Wed.* This morning viewed Boston from Dorchester Hill. Saw the Regulars at work fortifying Beacon Hill and the Neck. We came to Roxbury, and went as far as the Georges Tavern. The Regular sentinels and ours were about forty rods asunder. Came to Cambridge and spent the afternoon. Lodged at Watertown.

May 4, *Thurs.* Came home. Not much disposed for study.

May 7, *Lord's Day.* Preached all day.

May 8, *Mon.* By this time we obtained an exact account of the number of the Provincials that were killed and wounded in the battle of the 19th ultimo: 40 killed and 20 wounded. The number of Regulars that went out was 800 in the first brigade, and 1,200 in the second, who met the first at Lexington. It is pretty certain that near 300 Regulars were taken, killed, or wounded, and many more were surfeited, so that their loss upon the whole is said to be at least 500. It is not supposed that more than 300 of our men were actually engaged in battle at a time for the whole day, but yet the Regulars, who had two field pieces, fled with surprising precipitation. They took only two prisoners, but what they killed or let go again.

May 10, *Wed.* This day the grand Continental Congress meets at Philadelphia.

May 11, *Thurs.* This day set apart as a day of fasting and prayer by a Resolve of the Provincial Congress. I preached in the morning, and Mr. Balch in the afternoon.

May 18, *Thurs.* Lecture. Mr. Swain preached. Mr. Hitchcock present. Dr. Whitney returned from the army.

May 29, *Monday.* Mr. Balch, Mr. Williams, and I set out for Cambridge. Went to Winnissimet to see the marks of the late action between our men and the regular troops, which happened the Saturday night before, when our people drove a number of the Regulars from Noddle's Island, beat off a sloop, and burnt a schooner at the Ferry-ways. There was no loss on our side, which was very remarkable. It is said the enemy lost about 200. We had only four men wounded. We lodged this night at Mystic.

May 30. Rode to Cambridge. Viewed the intrenchments and fortifications, which appear very well. Had the honor of dining with General Pomeroy, General Putnam, General Whitcomb, and several other officers of the army. After dinner rode to Dedham, and lodged at Madam Balch's.

May 31, *Wednesday.* Came to Watertown, where Dr. Langdon preached a sermon to the Congress, being the anniversary of the annual election of Councillors. A very good sermon. A handsome entertainment was provided for the ministers at Mrs. Coolidge's. After dinner the Convention sat and voted to supply the army with chaplains, but did not fix upon the mode. The Convention then adjourned to 3 o'clock the next day at the same place. Lodged at Mr. Everett's, at Dorchester, with Mr. Brown, Willard, and Hitchcock.

June 1, *Thursday.* At 8 o'clock, Mr. Stevens, of Kittery, preached a very suitable sermon to the Convention. They then proposed that the officers of the army should choose their chaplains, and the ministers should supply them in turns. Dined with Captain Francis in the army. A very handsome dinner. After dinner, came home much fatigued.

June 15, *Thursday.* Much indisposed for study. The weather exceeding dry. Times very melancholy.

June 17, *Saturday.* Studied. Heard that there was an engagement at Charlestown. In the afternoon saw a very great smoke, and at night saw the light of the fire which was the burning of Charlestown by the Regular forces. At the same time there was a very smart engagement at a small breastwork raised by our people upon Bunker's Hill. The fire was said to be the heaviest for near two hours ever known in America. There was a constant cannonading from Boston, and three or four large ships. They forced the intrenchments and obliged our people to retreat. It was supposed that there were 5,000 Regulars, and not more than 2,000 or 3,000 of our men that actually engaged in the fight. Our loss is supposed to be about 50 killed and 20 or 30 taken prisoners. The enemy's loss is said to be 1,400 privates killed and wounded, and 84 officers.

June 18, *Lord's Day.* The people are in great consternation. I preached all day. Many of the people went to the army. After meeting, Dr. Whitney and I went as far as Newell's, where we lodged.

June 19, *Monday.* Went to the army. Went down upon a hill between Winter Hill and Bunker Hill, when a shot from a twelve pounder came very near us and fell beyond us. In the afternoon another shot from the same cannon fell within the breastwork at Ran's Hill. I was very near where it fell. Lodged at Watertown. Saw many of my old acquaintances.

June 20, *Tues.* Came back to Cambridge, and through the breastworks, from thence through Charlestown, and then home.

June 23, *Fri.* Extremely hot and dry. Set out for the army in order to keep Sabbath. Went to Winnissimet, where Major D. was stationed. Lodged a little back in a private house.

June 24, *Sat.* Prayed this morning with the soldiers. Viewed the ground with a glass where the late battle was on Bunker Hill.

June 25, *Lord's Day.* Preached abroad to the soldiers. A very attentive congregation. An uncomfortable day.

June 26, *Mon.* Set out for Cambridge, and rode as far as Dedham.

June 27, *Tues.* Very much indisposed by reason of a violent cold, which I took by preaching abroad on the Sabbath.

June 30, *Fri.* Set out home, and came to Roxbury and viewed the fortifications. They have a very fine fort on the hill, and two or three intrenchments below. Came through the encampment at Cambridge· At home in the evening.

July 2, *Lord's Day.* Unable to preach. Brother Balch preached for me.

July 9, *Lord's Day.* Preached and administered the sacrament. Read a Resolve of the Congress recommending the observance of the Sabbath, and exhorted the people to observe it.

July 19, *Wed.* This day the Assembly of the Province are to choose a Council.

July 20, *Thurs.* This day was appointed for a day of fasting and prayer throughout the United Colonies of America, by the Continental Congress, on account of the unhappy civil war which has commenced.

July 23, *Lord's Day.* I preached at Chebacco. Mr. Cleaveland was gone into the army, and the ministers in the vicinity have supplied his pulpit. My people were left destitute.

Aug. 9, *Wed.* Mr. Larned, of Killingly, here. We rode to Beverly and dined at Mr. Brown's.

Aug. 15, *Tues.* Mr. Balch and I set out for Cambridge very early. At day-break we were in the camp, in Captain Baker's tent. When the morning cannon was fired, we went upon Prospect Hill with the several regiments of that brigade and saw them exercise over the breastworks. The cannon in the fort were exercised at the same time.

Aug. 16, *Wed.* This day went to Roxbury and saw the works there, which were fine. Lodged at Mr. Everett's. Went by the way of Watertown, and was in the galleries to hear the debates in the House of Representatives. No great things.

Aug. 17, *Thurs.* Returned home through the encampment.

Aug. 27, *Lord's Day.* Preached all day. A fine rain between meetings, the finest rain we have had for three or four months. The drought very severe. Indian corn so cut off that it is generally thought that there will not be more than one-third of a crop. Such a drought the oldest man can not remember, and we hear that it is very general through the country.

Sept. 5, *Tues.* Read Judge Blackstone. Mrs. Cutler and I made Mr. Dana and his new wife a visit. Spent the afternoon very agreeably at Mr. Stacey's. A number of ladies.

Sept. 6, *Wed.* Not very well. Read Judge Blackstone's Commentaries.

Sept. 13, *Wed.* This morning two or three companies of Riflemen marched by on their way to Quebec. Still confined, but able to read a little in American Philosophical Transactions.

Sept. 14, *Thurs.* About 1,000 men marched by on their way to Quebec, under command of Colonel Arnold.

[These troops suffered almost incredible hardships in their celebrated march by the Kennebeck River, through the wilderness of Maine, to Quebec.]

Oct. 12, *Thurs.* We had, last evening, a thunderstorm, in the midst of which we discovered a bright light in the southward, which appeared like a number of buildings on fire.

Oct. 13, *Fri.* The fire seen last evening was a barn in Beverly, set on fire by a candle used by people husking corn.

Oct. 23, *Mon.* Mrs. Cutler and I set out for Cambridge, where I am to supply Mr. Balch as Chaplain to Colonel Doolittle's Regiment; Mrs. Cutler to visit her friends at Dedham and Dorchester. Did not get to Mystic till sunset. I went up to Winter Hill, but did not attend prayers. Lodged in Mystic in the chamber Mr. Balch had taken to lodge in.

Oct. 24, *Tues.* This morning attended prayers with the Regiment. Rode with Mrs. Cutler to Dorchester, and left her at Mr. Everett's.

Oct. 25, *Wed.* Returned to Winter Hill.

Oct. 26, *Thurs.* Occupied myself in viewing the works and observing the enemy with my glass, which I carried for that purpose.

Oct. 27, *Fri.* Dined with the officers of General Putnam's Brigade. Took the number of the cannon of the several redoubts at Cambridge. There are upward of sixty.

Oct. 29, *Lord's Day.* Preached in the Citadel. A very raw, cold day. The soldiers behaved with decency and seriousness, and gave good attention.

Oct. 30, *Mon.* Set out for Dedham, which is twenty-two miles from where I lodged at Mystic. Extremely tired, as I missed the chaise which was sent to meet me, and walked the whole distance.

Nov. 1, *Wed.* Brother Dean and wife came with us to Mr. Everett's. After dinner we rode down on Dorchester Neck, and had a fine view of Boston and the Castle.

Nov. 29, *Wed.* A fine prize brought into Cape Ann with warlike stores.

Nov. 30, *Thurs.* Went down to see the prize. Dined with the Ipswich troops.

January 2, 1776, *Tues.* Mr. Whipple and I made some preparations to make saltpeter.

Jan. 18. A great deal of firing of cannon.

Jan. 24, *Wed.* Attended Mr. Willard's lecture and preached. Mrs. Cutler went with me to Mr. Hitchcock's, where we spent the evening.

Feb. 1, *Thurs.* Went to Salem and bought kettles for saltpeter works.

Feb. 7, *Wed.* This day the Rev. Levi Frisbie was installed over the first church in Ipswich. I went with the delegate from our church. Mr. Parsons made the first prayer, Mr. Cleaveland preached, Mr. Chandler gave the charge, Mr. Leslie made the last prayer, Mr. Dana gave the right hand of fellowship. It was called a fast, but we had plenty of good cheer before we went to meeting, and after we returned, a very good dinner. The Council dined at Mr. Jewett's.

Feb. 8, *Thurs.* Attended Mr. Cleaveland's fast. I preached in the morning and Mr. Dana in the afternoon. Snowed all day.

Feb. 9, *Fri.* Attended Mr. Hitchcock's lecture and preached. Mr. Swain and Mr. Willard present. A full lecture.

Feb. 17, *Sat.* Finished the setting kettles, for making saltpeter, in Mr. Whipple's shop, a quarter of which is mine.

Feb. 20, *Tues.* Through the camp. Dined with Captain Porter, of Wenham.

Feb. 21, *Wed.* Went to Dedham and engaged a quantity of corn.

Mar. 3, *Lord's Day.* Preached at Topsfield for Mr. Shaw. Heard that our troops began Saturday to bombard Boston.

Mar. 4, *Mon.* Set out for Cambridge, but went no farther than Salem. A very heavy firing at Boston all night.

Mar. 7, *Thurs.* An occasional fast through the Province on account of our present public calamities. Preached.

Mar. 17, *Lord's Day.* Preached. This day the Regular Troops, under command of General Howe, evacuated Boston in a surprising manner. They went off in so great haste that they left a large number of their cannon and several of their best mortars, with many other valuable articles. The King's stores that are left are computed at three hundred thousand pounds sterling. What was the occasion of so precipitate a flight is not certainly known. It is generally compared to the flight of the Assyrians. "*It was the Lord's doings and is marvelous in our eyes.*"

Mar. 19, *Tues.* The ships lay down below the Castle with the soldiers and tories and their families on board.

Mar. 20, *Wed.* This day they demolished the Castle.

Apr. 9, *Tues.* Mr. Whipple went to Watertown to carry saltpeter.

Apr. 24, *Wed.* Mr. Everett and I went down upon Castle William—a shocking heap of ruins.

Apr. 25, *Thurs.* Went to Stoughton,* with Mr. Chickering, Captain Dean, and Brother Dean, to see the Powder Mill, which was almost ready to go.

May 17, *Fri.* Continental fast. Mr. Willard and I exchanged.

June 5, *Wed.* This morning Mr. Oliver and I sat out for Cape Ann to attend Mr. Forbes' installment. Fell in company with Mr. Willard. We dined at Mr. Peter Coffin's.

June 6, *Thurs.* We dined at Colonel Coffin's. A very fine dinner, good company, and a good deal of it. Came home.

June 10, *Mon.* Visited the sick. Mr. Parkman, his son and daughter, dined with us.

June 16, *Lord's Day.* Preached to the people at Sandy Bay, who were disconsolate on account of fourteen men lately taken from them by a man-of-war. They were in the Yankee Hero. Returned to Mr. Parsons'.

June 17, *Mon.* Mr. Parsons and lady rode with me to the harbor, where we met Mr. Everett, Mr. Balch, and Mr. Oliver, and went on board the Lady Juliana, a prize ship of 400 tons, taken by one of our privateers, bound from Jamaica to London. The cabins and state-rooms were spacious, her carvings elegant, and her cargo very valuable—184 lbs. (?) of plate for cabin furniture, 22,000 dollars, near 600 hhds. of sugar and rum, besides cocoa, pimento, ginger, cayenne-pepper, etc. They made us several presents of the small affairs in the cabins, such as sweatmeats, cayenne-pepper, supple-jacks, cassada or bread, cashew-nuts, cocoa-nuts, trinkets, etc. Came home after dining at Mr. Forbes'.

June 27, *Thurs.* Began to take the New England Chronicle with Mr. John Whipple, third.

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*Stoughton, fifteen miles southwardly of Boston. "Early in the war a large quantity of gunpower, of an excellent quality, was made in this town for the American Army from saltpeter, the produce of the towns in its vicinity."—*Morse's Western Gazetteer.*

Jul. 1, *Mon.* Set out for Dedham to attend the ordination of Mr. Chickering.* Deacon Whipple went as delegate, his wife, and Mr. John Whipple and wife, in company; also Mr. Balch and wife. Lodged at Dorchester.

Jul. 3, *Wed.* Ordination. Assisted in Council at Captain Eben. Everett's. Mr. Payson, Moderator. Mr. Robbins' appointed to make the first prayer. Mr. Caryl preached, Mr. Payson gave the charge, and Mr. Haven the right hand of fellowship, and Mr. Curtis made the last prayer. A vast many people present.

Jul. 9, *Tues.* Training.

Jul. 14, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Sacrament. Pretty full meeting. Concluded to go to Boston to be inoculated.

Jul. 15, *Mon.* Set out by day in company with John and Samuel Whipple, and John Safford, to go to Boston to be inoculated (with small-pox). Applied to Dr. Manning, who inoculated us by puncture in our arms. I took lodgings at Mr. Williams'. (Operation successful.)

Aug. 1, *Thurs.* Fast through the Province. At Mr. Cooper's meeting. I was applied to, to preach at Mr. Howe's and at Mr. Chauncy's meeting, but could not, as I carried no notes. Went into the water.

Aug. 3, *Sat.* Came home in good health.

Aug. 25, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Received a message from Colonel Francis to go to Dorchester and supply his regiment as Chaplain, with which I acquainted the church and congregation after meeting, and there was no objection.

Aug. 28, *Wed.* This day appointed for Dr. Whitney's wedding. Attended with Mrs. Cutler. Mr. Frisbie made the first prayer, and gave the covenant; I made the last prayer. A great number of people present. A town wedding.

Aug. 29, *Thurs.* Mr. Dana and Mr. Frisbie gave encouragement that they would supply my pulpit while I am with the army. Also Mr. Cleaveland and Tappan.

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* The Rev. Jabez Chickering graduated at Harvard College, 1774, and married April 22, 1777, Miss Hannah Balch, youngest daughter of his predecessor, and sister of Mrs. Cutler. He was ordained July 3, 1776, over the South Church, in Dedham, and remained their pastor for nearly thirty-six years—until his death in 1812.

Sept. 3, *Tues.* Went to Dorchester. Prayed with the regiment.

Sept. 4, *Wed.* Live in the same barracks with the field officers.

Sept. 8, *Lord's Day.* Preached to the regiment. Found it very hard to speak abroad.

Sept. 10, *Tues.* In Boston at vendue. Colonel Francis, Colonel Thayer, and the Adjutant in company. Colonel Francis, Adjutant Herrick, and I supped at Mr. Kimball's.

Sept. 11, *Wed.* Went with the officers to Nantasket. We all dined with Colonel Jackson. Caught plenty of mackerel. We did not return soon enough for prayers. The fort at Nantasket is very grand.

Sept. 15, *Lord's Day.* Preached to the regiment. A tolerably pleasant day.

Sept. 19, *Thurs.* Attended lecture in Boston. Mr. Lathrop preached a very ingenious sermon. Mrs. Cutler, Mr. and Mrs. Everett, Miss Irene Balch, and the Colonel's lady drank tea with us.

Sept. 20, *Fri.* The field officers, the Adjutant, and myself drank tea at Mr. Everett's. Read the Downfall of British Tyranny. Supped and spent a very social evening.

Sept. 23, *Mon.* At Boston with the Colonel. Mr. Plumb prayed this morning.

Sept. 25, *Wed.* Mr. Everett and I rode to Cambridge and attended the Dudlian Lecture. Mr. Morrel, of Wilmington, preached a good sermon.

Sept. 26, *Thurs.* The Colonel made an entertainment. Mr. Everett and ladies, Mrs. Kimball and two sisters, Mrs. Francis, all the Captains in the regiment, Dr. Whipple, etc. The regiment paraded at 3 o'clock for exercise. Mr. Everett prayed with them at night. I attended a funeral at Roxbury.

Oct. 1, *Tues.* At Dr. Eliot's.

Oct. 2, *Wed.* The Colonel, Adjutant, and myself went to Braintree and dined with Colonel Thayer. A fine dinner.

Oct. 11, *Fri.* Mr. Everett went to the hospital to be inoculated.

Oct. 13, *Lord's Day.* Our regiment marched up to the

Meeting House. It being sacrament, I administered the ordinance.

Oct. 16, *Wed.* Our regiment was reviewed by the General attended by his Aids-de-camp. I went on to the parade with the other officers, and took my post on the right wing. As the General began to march I paid the first salute with the fire-lock. The regiment made a very handsome appearance.

Oct. 17, *Thurs.* This day the field officers, myself, and the surgeons were invited to dine with the General. A very genteel dinner. Rose from table about 4 o'clock.

Oct. 18, *Fri.* Went up to the hospital to see Mr. Everett. Was smoked most severely.

Oct. 23, *Wed.* Colonel Dike's regiment reviewed. Attended. Dined with the field officers.

Oct. 27, *Lord's Day.* The regiment marched up to the Meeting House. I preached, and in the afternoon preached a sermon to the soldiers.

Oct. 30, *Wed.* With Mrs. Cutler in Boston, at Dr. Cooper's. Mr. John Adams was there, who had just come from the Continental Congress.

Nov. 2, *Sat.* Rode after Mr. Everett, who was ready to return from the Inoculating Hospital. Dined with Dr. Sprague.

Nov. 3, *Lord's Day.* The Regiment met in Mr. Everett's Meeting House. I preached all day.

Nov. 4–9. Weather pleasant this week. Company from Boston and other parts of the country.

Nov. 10, *Lord's Day.* Had but one exercise. Went to Boston, after noon, and heard Dr. Cooper.

Nov. 17, *Lord's Day.* Preached at home. Sacrament.

Nov. 20, *Wed.* Returned to camp.

Nov. 22, *Fri.* Several members from Court dined with us.

Nov. 23, *Sat.* A Committee from the General Court came to invite the Regiment to tarry three months longer, and dined with us.

Nov. 24, *Lord's Day.* I was to preach at Mr. Morehead's meeting for Mr. Balch, but Mr. Murray was previously engaged. Went to Trinity Church in the morning, and heard an excellent sermon delivered by Mr. Parker. Dined at Captain McNeal's. Afternoon, heard Mr. Murray.

Nov. 25, *Mon.* Returned to camp; rainy.

Nov. 29, *Fri.* All the officers of the Regiment dined with us. The Continental Frigate Hancock came into the Harbor from Newbury. A very fine ship.

Nov. 30, *Sat.* Very rainy. Put our things on board a boat to come home by water. The Regiment breaking up. All taken off duty. I set out home with Captain Dodge about 12 o'clock, and got home about 9 o'clock in the evening, very wet, and much fatigued.

Dec. 12, *Thurs.* Thanksgiving. Pretty full meeting. The singers sang anthems as usual.

Dec. 16–21. A great deal of company from one quarter and another.

Dec. 31, *Tues.* Rode to Salem. Dined with Colonel Francis, drank tea at Judge Lynd's and called on Judge Oliver.

[Massachusetts became an Independent State in 1776, and was governed by "The Council" till 1780, when the Constitution was established and John Hancock elected Governor. The following is Mr. Cutler's commission as Chaplain]:

STATE OF
MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

The Major part of the Council to Manasseh Cutler, Gentleman, Greeting:

[SEAL.]
Jer. Powell.
W. Sever.
Caleb Cushing.
Artemus Ward.
J. Winthrop.
B. Lincoln.
B. Chadbourn.
S. Holten.
Jabez Fisher.
John Taylor.
Wm. Phillips.
Benj. Austin.

We, being informed of your Exemplary Life and Manners, and reposing 'special Trust and Confidence in your Abilities and good Conduct, Do, by these Presence, constitute and appoint you, the said Manasseh Cutler, to be Chaplain of the Regiment drafted out of the Militia of this State on the Continental Establishment for the defence and security of the Town and Harbour of Boston, whereof Ebenezer Francis, Esq., is Colonel.

You are therefore carefully and diligently to inculcate in the minds of the Soldiers of

Dan'l Davis.
D. Sewall.
F. M. Dana.

said Regiment, as well by Example as Precept, the Duties of Religion and Morality, & a fervent Love of their Country, and in all respects discharge the Duty of a Chaplain in said Regiment—Observing, from time to time, such Orders and Instructions as you shall receive from your Superior Officers, according to Military Rules and Discipline Established by the American Congress. In pursuance of the Trust reposed in you, for which this shall be your Sufficient Warrant.

Given under our Hands and the Seal of said State, at Watertown, the fifth day of Sept'r, In the Year of our Lord, One Thousand seven Hundred & seventy-six.

By Command of the Major part of the Council,
JOHN AVERY, *Dp.y Secy.*

[Mr. Cutler, after these months spent in the army, came back to the Hamlet and began the New Year, 1776, by a very thorough visitation of his parish, thus resuming his parochial duties to the mutual satisfaction of himself and his people. The extracts from his private journal do not fairly represent Mr. Cutler's methodical and industrious habits. It is not possible or desirable to recount all his varied pursuits, but the bewildering number of lectures, ministers' meetings, fasts and thanksgivings, catechisings, visitings, weddings and funerals which he records, not a tithe of which has been given here, causes wonder that any time was left for study, and yet he thus occupied from two to four days of each week; and his garden and farm received his personal supervision.]

Jan. 29, 1777, *Wed.* General fast through this State on account of the distressed state of our public affairs. Very full meeting.

Jan. 30, *Thurs.* Colonel Francis and lady, Dr. Whitney and lady, Mr. Herrick and lady dined with us.

Jan. 31, *Fri.* Captain Brown and lady, and Mr. Willard, dined with us.

Feb. 9, *Lord's Day.* Sacrament. Proposed to the Congregation to visit the several schools for the purpose of instructing the youth.

Feb. 10, *Mon.* Visited Master Dane's school, Backside. Instructed them in the Catechism, and gave them other instruction.

Feb. 11, *Tues.* Catechised the children over the river.

Feb. 17, *Mon.* Hauled wood—thirty teams. Got a fine quantity of good wood. Dined sixty-four persons.

Feb. 28, *Fri.* Very blustering. Dr. Whitney and I rode down to Mr. Hitchcock's lecture. I preached.

Mar. 12, *Wed.* Rainy and foggy; bad traveling. Soldiers marching by, as they have been for several days past. Studied hard. Finished one sermon and half another.

Mar. 27, *Thurs.* Attended Mr. Dana's lecture, and preached. Mr. Frisbie present.

Apr. 1, *Tues.* Mr. and Mrs. Willard, Mr. and Mrs. Hitchcock, and Mr. Swain spent the afternoon with us.

Apr. 8, *Tues.* At work in my garden. Received the Boston Gazette by stage.

Apr. 25, *Fri.* Went with Mr. Balch to Boston. Proposed going out with Commodore Manly in the Frigate Hancock, but concluded not to go.

May 1, *Thurs.* Annual fast. Few people at meeting. A very remarkable day for this season of the year. It might properly be called a N. E. snow-storm. The thinnest fast I ever beheld.

May 28, *Wed.* Election of Councilors. Set out very early for Boston. Mr. John Whipple went with me. Left our horses at Winnissimet Ferry. Got into Boston about 10 o'clock. Sermon delivered at 11 o'clock by Rev. Mr. Webster. A very sensible discourse. The old Council and House, escorted by the Independent Company from the State House to the Meeting House, and from thence to Faneuil Hall, where an elegant entertainment was provided for the Council, House, Ministers, and Officers of the Militia and Independent Company. The music of the Independent Company was very fine, equal to that of the Regulars. Afternoon the ministers met at the State House in Convention.

May 29, *Thurs.* The Convention Sermon was preached in the Old Brick, at 11 o'clock, by the President. I dined at Dr. Eliot's.

June 2, *Mon.* Worked all day in my garden.

June 6, *Fri.* Attended Mr. Swain's lecture. Mr. Willard present. I preached.

June 15, *Lord's Day.* The time for Sacrament in course, but was necessarily put by on account of the Deacons not being able to procure any wine. Called, after meeting, to visit Hannah Roberts, who had broke out with small-pox.

[Mr. Cutler inoculated about fifty persons, "some with puncture, and some with threads," who were attended by Mr. Manning, but were visited daily by Mr. Cutler till the end of June.]

July 5, *Sat.* Received a letter from Colonel Francis, at Ticonderoga.

July 8, *Tues.* Mr. Plumb and Mrs. Hitchcock dined with us.

July 11, *Fri.* Mrs. Cutler and I rode to Beverly to make Mr. Willard a visit.

July 17, *Thurs.* Mr. Eliot, of Boston, dined with us.

July 26, *Sat.* Rode to Beverly in order to get some wine (for sacrament). Gave 20*s*. per gallon.

July 27, *Lord's Day.* Sacrament. Preached. Full meeting.

Aug. 2, *Sat.* Rode down to Cape Ann to exchange with Mr. Parsons. Called at Mr. Tappan's, Mr. Rogers', Mr. Forbes', Captain Brown's, etc.

Aug. 3, *Lord's Day.* Preached at Squam. Captain Brown dined with me. Drank coffee with Deacon Merritt.

Aug. 4, *Mon.* Dined at Captain Brown's, Mr. Parsons and Deacon Merritt in company. Came home, and brought four fine lobsters as a rarity.

Aug. 6, *Wed.* Rode to Newburyport, to attend the ordination of Mr. Spring. Dined with the Council. A fine day, a fine ordination, and an elegant dinner. Called on Colonel Titcomb. He presented me with a fine smoked salmon.

Aug. 11, *Mon.* Road to Mr. Swain's. Read French.

[Mr. Cutler devoted much time during the three following months to acquiring a knowledge of the French language.]

Aug. 15, *Fri.* Mr. Foster lodged here. Dr. Whittaker here in the afternoon.

Aug. 26, *Tues.* Studied exceeding hard, preparing for the Fast.

Aug. 28, *Thurs.* Fast through the State on account of the war. Preached. A very full meeting.

Sept. 8, *Mon.* Planted out in my borders in the great alley, Crown Imperials, Tulips, Persian Iris, early and late Daffies, and Peonies. Visited the sick.

Sept. 13, *Sat.* Boiled some cornstalk juice into molasses, being the first experiment. Boiling away five parts will make tolerable molasses.

Sept. 15, *Mon.* Very busy about mills for grinding stalks for molasses.

Sept. 16–19. Boiled cornstalk liquor, and studied French. Mr. Cummings studied with me.

Sept. 28, *Lord's Day.* Preached. A pretty full meeting. Large number of strangers.

Sept. 29, *Mon.* Mustering men to go the Northern Army. Half the militia called for. All the troop in this town concluded to go.

Sept. 30, *Tues.* The troop marched. They halted at Mr. John Brown's and sent for me to pray with them.

Oct. 2, *Thurs.* The foot (soldiers) marched.

Oct. 6, *Mon.* Mr. Cummings came again to study French with me.

Oct. 20, *Mon.* Wrote to Mr. Plumb at Albany and Captain Dodge in the army. Mr. Parsons and wife here.

Oct. 23, *Thurs.* Mr. Forbes here to dine. Received the agreeable intelligence of the surrender of General Burgoyne and his whole army to General Gates as prisoners of war. A general discharge of cannon at Boston, Marblehead, Salem, Beverly, Cape Ann, Newbury, and Portsmouth, and all the ships and vessels of force in all those harbors.

Oct. 26, *Lord's Day.* Preached. In the afternoon, upon the times.

Nov. 5, *Wed.* Set out for Boston, in order to see Burgoyne's army come into Cambridge. Brother Balch went with me. We dined at Newell's and lodged at Mr. Everett's.

Nov. 6, *Thurs.* Wind out; blew and rained hard. Prevented our going to Cambridge.

Nov. 7, *Fri.* Rode to Cambridge. Saw, in the barracks, the regular troops who came in yesterday. About 12 o'clock Burgoyne came into town, attended by a party of the American Light Horse as a guard. General Glover rode with him, and two British generals, Phillips and Hamilton. Immediately after the Hessian troops came in, preceded and followed by a large guard of militia. They appeared to be as dull, heavy molded, and dirty a pack as ever I saw. The procession reached near three miles. I saw, likewise, General Riedesel, the commander of the Hessians, a very fine man. He was accompanied with two or three more Hessian generals. They barracked at Winter Hill, the Regulars at Prospect Hill. Returned home much fatigued.

Nov. 20, *Thurs.* Annual Thanksgiving. A full meeting and a pleasant day.

Nov. 21, *Fri.* Rode to Beverly. Called on Mr. Hitchcock, lately returned from the army.

Nov. 22, *Sat.* Mr. Fuller came, in order for an exchange to-morrow. Dr. Stiles came this evening to keep Sabbath with me.

Nov. 23, *Lord's Day.* Rode to Cape Ann to preach for Mr. Fuller, which was a great mortification, as Dr. Stiles was present to preach for me. The Doctor preached in the forenoon, Mr. Fuller in the afternoon. I returned in the evening.

Nov. 24, *Mon.* Dr. Stiles set out for Portsmouth. He is a very agreeable gentleman, and is the President of Yale College. I took a fine draught of Philadelphia, including the whole of Mr. Howe's route from Elk River, from a map the Doctor had procured from actual mensuration.

Dec. 9, *Tues.* Went to Salem. At Judge Oliver's and Judge Lynde's. Spent the evening in Beverly at Mr. George Cabot's, Mr. Willard in company.

Dec. 10, *Wed.* Drew maps of Philadelphia.

Dec. 18, *Thurs.* Thanksgiving through the United States on account of our successes, and particularly on account of the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army.

[Much of the record for the year 1778 is lost. It was during this period that the unsuccessful campaign of General Sullivan, undertaken to dislodge the British from Newport, Rhode Island, was organized. Mr. Cutler, as Chaplain to General Titcomb's Brigade, accompanied this expedition, of which he gives a detailed account.]

July 26, 1778, *Lord's Day.* Exchanged with Brother Balch, who supplies Mr. Hitchcock's people, at Beverly.

Aug. 4, *Tuesday.* General Titcomb called on me in his way to Rhode Island, and invited me to go with him as Chaplain to his brigade on the present expedition. This evening a fine shower of rain.

Aug. 7, *Friday.* Preparing to set out for Rhode Island, to-morrow.

Aug. 8, *Sat.* Set out for Rhode Island with Captains Brown and Cabot. Crossed Winnissimet Ferry. Dined in Boston at Mr. Williams'. The day exceeding hot. Set out from Boston at 5 o'clock; made our next stage beyond Milton Meeting House, at sunset, where we oated and drank coffee. Rode on to Noyes', at Stotenham; refreshed ourselves and horses about 12 o'clock, but did not go into the house. A very fine evening, cool and comfortable, far better riding than in the day time. Rode on seven miles further; stopped at a farmer's house, but the house was filled with soldiers, and we were obliged to turn into the barn. I slept on straw, between Captains Cabot and Brown, and very sound, until five in the morning, when the mustering of the soldiers waked us, and we immediately rose.

Aug. 9, *Sunday.* Set out at 5 o'clock. Breakfasted at my classmate, Leonard's. Exceeding hot. Rode through Taunton, and crossed the river a mile below town. Passed through Freetown; stopped at a tavern at the further part. Lot Strange. Dined in company with a number of gentlemen from Boston. Extremely hot. A shower at four. Rode on to Tiverton. I got lodgings within two miles of the Ferry. Captain Brown and Captain Cabot went on to Rhode Island.

This morning the army was ordered to parade near Howland's Ferry, in order to embark and re-embark in the boats, that they might the better understand such a maneuver; but a reconnoitering party having discovered that the enemy had left the upper end of the Island, and retreated into Newport, the troops embarked and proceeded over, formed on the opposite beach, and marched up and took possession of their works, which were not at all damaged. They evacuated them Saturday evening, upon finding our troops intended to land six miles below, and cut off their retreat. They drove off all the horses and all the cattle from the inhabitants, except one cow to a family, destroyed all their wheels and carriages of every kind, took quantities of provisions, and filled up most of their wells.

My people were supplied this day by Mr. Steward, of Salem, who preached for Mr. Swain, and he preached for me, and administered the Sacrament, which I had before appointed and could not well put by.

Aug. 10, *Monday.* This morning I crossed on to Rhode Island, and joined General Titcomb's Brigade. Dined with him and a number of gentlemen on the ground abroad, not having any quarters. Slept this night in the officer's room at the barracks in the fort taken up by Colonel Wade.

Last evening a fleet was seen off the harbor, of about eighteen or twenty sail, which came up near the Lighthouse and anchored. Several ships of the line, but unknown who, or from whence. About 10 o'clock the French fleet, that lay above the town of Newport, came to sail, and went out in pursuit of them. As they passed the town and forts, the ships began and kept up an incessant fire, until they were all passed. The roar of cannon at times was such as to make but one continued sound, without any distinction of guns. The fleet in the offing, which proved to be a fleet from New York, immediately put to sea, and by dark the French fleet in pursuit of them was out of sight of land.

Aug. 11, *Tuesday.* The General procured a chamber for quarters at one Browning's, a Quaker. Invited me to live with him. This morning, the wind at N. E. blew pretty hard; cloudy and rainy. At 4 o'clock the whole army paraded, and was reviewed by the general officers. The order of battle and encampment: Front line, Varnum's and Cornell's Brigades on the right, Glover's and Colonel Commanding Greene's do. on the left. The second line, commanded by Major-General Hancock, Lovel's Brigade on the right, Titcomb's on the left. The light corps, consisting of Jackson's Corps, Boston Independents and Light Infantry, and 50 men from each brigade in the front line, commanded by Colonel Commanding Leviston (Livingston?). The reserve, consisting of Holden's and Brown's regiments, commanded by Colonel Commanding West. A flanking division on each wing of the army, and a flanking party to each wing of each line, consisting of volunteers and militia. A body of horse, commanded by General Whipple. The right wing of the whole army commanded by Major-General Greene; the left, by the Marquis de la Fayette.

Aug. 12, *Wednesday.* This morning, orders for the whole army to be paraded at 6 o'clock, for advancing toward the enemy's lines. The storm increasing violently, prevented. A great number of the militia, having no tents, were obliged to continue out in the storm without any shelter. Colonel Thorndike resigned, and Colonel Wadsworth appointed. Captains Brown and Cabot took lodgings at our quarters.

Aug. 13, *Thursday.* The storm exceeding severe; wind very high. Mr. Nat. Tracy lodged with us. Dr. Clark and Parsons, Colonels Wadsworth and Thorndike, with us. A sergeant and nine men deserted, belonging to the Twenty-second Regiment, British. Say the French ships dismounted the guns, and almost demolished two forts, and killed several men, on Monday.

Aug. 14, *Friday.* This morning the wind changed to the southward. At 4 o'clock in the morning troops turned out, examined their arms, and renewed their cartridges. Captains Cabot, Brown, and myself rode down near the enemy's lines. Saw Colonel Hichborn and his brother, Samuel. Orders for the army to march at 6 o'clock to-morrow morning. Several deserters.

Aug. 15, *Saturday.* At 6 o'clock a signal gun from the right fired as a signal for the whole army to parade. Half after six two cannons were fired for signals for forming into columns. Three cannons the signal for marching. The front line advanced in four columns, and the second line in two colums, commanded by their respective Brigadiers. Flanking divisions and flanking parties marched in their respective stations. The Light-corps advanced. The Light-horse advanced on the right for reconnoitering. Pioneers marched advanced of each division to remove walls, etc. The artillery and ammunition wagons between the first and second line; the baggage between the second line and the reserve. The reserve moved in one column. I had a fine prospect of the whole army as it moved off from Butt's Hill, where we first encamped. They made a very grand appearance. The army marched about three miles and halted. A council of war was held by the general officers, who advanced, and marked out the ground for encamping. No appearance of an attack from the enemy. The army extended quite across the Island from water to water. At 2 o'clock advanced and came upon the ground, about a mile and a half from the enemy's lines, directly in their front. They fired a few cannon. As soon as our brigade was halted on the ground, I returned to our old quarters and tarried the night. Was much pleased with the kindness and benevolence of Mr. Thomas Browning, at whose house we quartered.

Aug. 16, *Lord's Day.* Returned to camp. General Titcomb took quarters at Mr. Peleg Laughton's, a friendly Quaker, where we had very good accommodations. Almost the whole brigade on duty. No opportunity to attend public worship. At night began to throw up a redoubt upon a high eminence near the enemy's lines. Went in the afternoon with a number of officers to view a garden near our quarters belonging to one Mr. Bowler—the finest by far I ever saw. It is laid out much in the form of my own, contains four acres, has a grand aisle in the middle, and is adorned in the front with beautiful carvings. Near the middle is an oval, surrounded with espaliers of fruit trees, in the center of which is a pedestal, on which is an armillary sphere, with an equatorial dial. On one side of the front is a hot-house, containing orange trees, with some ripe, some green, some blooms, and various other fruit trees of the exotic kind, curious flowers, etc. At the lower end of the aisle is a large summer-house, a long square containing three rooms—the middle paved with marble and hung with landscapes and other pictures. On the right is a very large private library adorned with very curious carvings. The collection of French and English authors, maps, etc., is valuable. The room is furnished with a table, chairs, etc. There are espaliers of fruit trees at each end of the garden, some curious flowering shrubs, and a pretty collection of fruit trees. The room on the left in the summer-house, beautifully prepared and designed for music, contains a spinnet. But the whole garden discovered the desolations of war and the want of a gardener to dress it. The Marquis de la Fayette took quarters at this house. A number of cannon fired from the enemy's lines this afternoon, but no damage done.

Aug. 17, *Monday.* Morning foggy. After it cleared away rode down to the lines with Colonel Thorndike. Had a fine view of the enemy's lines from the top of a house, about a quarter of a mile distant, and little advanced of our picket. The enemy had fired for some time in the morning, but had ceased for some hours. While we were on the house they begun their fire again from the redoubts. Several shot passed us on each side and fell beyond us. Made a shocking whistling. Soon after we left the house a shot came through it. Found our situation not very safe or agreeable. Stood by the Marquis when a cannon ball just passed us. Was pleased with his firmness, but found I had nothing to boast of my own, and as I had no business in danger concluded to stay no longer lest I should happen to pay too dear for my curiosity.

[Heard from my friends in Connecticut.]

Aug. 18, *Tuesday.* Morning foggy. As soon as it cleared off the enemy began to fire on the works thrown up last night, which were considerable, but our men were so covered that they continued the works for the whole day—no damage done except one man wounded. One man had his cartouch-box carried away. Nine arms belonging to our brigade paraded on the ground near the intrenchment carried away by two balls. Captain Dodge[*] escaped narrowly. Had the honor to dine with General Hancock by particular invitation. Dined in great state. A large number of officers. The General very complaisant. Invited me to dine, breakfast, or to sup with him whenever it suited me, without any ceremony. After dinner a number of good songs.

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[*] Colonel Robert Dodge, the life-long friend of Doctor Cutler, was born in 1743, and died in 1823. He was a soldier in the Old French war, and was with Wolfe at the capture of Quebec. He entered the Revolutionary War as Captain, served through the entire war, and rose

Aug. 19, *Wednesday.* Foggy morning. Our first battery opened. A steady fire from both sides. Three hundred cannon fired by 10 o'clock. The enemy evacuated one redoubt before 12 o'clock. At the great rock on our left had a fine view secure from danger. Rode in the afternoon in pursuit of a fishing boat. A man in one of the trenches had his thigh cut off by a cannon ball and expired in an hour and a half.

Aug. 20, *Thursday.* Foggy morning. A steady fire through the day. Attended prayers this evening with the brigade for the first time, our situation not admitting of it before.

Aug. 21, *Friday.* The French fleet returned and came to anchor off the lighthouse, greatly damaged by the storm. The Languedoc, on board of which Count D'Estaing hoisted his flag, was dismasted and lost her rudder. One seventy-four missing. Took the Senegal and one bomb ketch. General and all of us invited to take luncheon with General Hancock. Found it rather an elegant dinner than a luncheon. We all rode down to the rock. Saw the fleet. We had two or three more batteries opened. Warm firing. Continually throwing shells from both parties. Saw several burst in the air. Attended prayers morning and evening.

Aug. 22, *Saturday.* Wind out. The three frigates in the river joined the fleet. Warm firing. Prayers morning and evening.

Aug. 23, *Lord's Day.* Expected to preach, and just prepared to go up to the brigade when the General received a letter from General Sullivan, informing him that the French fleet was so disastered they could by no means afford us any assistance, but were gone to Boston to refit. As the plan had ever been to take off eight or ten thousand men from the

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to the command of his regiment. He represented Hamilton several years in the Massachusetts General Court.

left of the army and land them on Brenton's Neck, in the enemy's rear, under cover of the French ships, for it was well known their lines were impregnable, this could not be executed with any degree of safety or prospect of success, without any cover, all the generals were called upon to give their opinion whether an immediate retreat was not absolutely necessary. This unexpected desertion of the fleet, which was the mainspring of the expedition, cast a universal gloom on the army, and threw us all into consternation. Our most sanguine hopes were cropped in the bud, and we expected immediate orders to prepare to move off the ground. This prevented the brigade's meeting for religious services. A very heavy firing from the batteries all day. Rode down the lines. Had a fine prospect of the enemy's lines. Saw all our shot strike which were well directed. One man killed by a cannon ball at one of our guns; another died of the wound he received yesterday by the bursting of a shell. A great number of shells thrown in the night. Our people split one eighteen pounder and one nine and a half inch mortar.

Aug. 24, *Mon.* As much of the heavy baggage moved off last night as possible. A body of men retreated to strengthen the works at Butts' Hill. At the lines, heavy firing; army preparing to retreat.

Aug. 25, *Tues.* Very heavy firing; shells at night. Orders to be ready to retreat at a moment's notice.

Aug. 26, *Wed.* Expected to retreat at six this morning. Brigade paraded. Sent all our baggage off the Island. Extremely hot, but remained on the ground. Concluded to set out myself for Connecticut. Came off the Island at 4 o'clock P. M.; crossed at Bristol Ferry; rode to Providence, and lodged about a mile out of town.

Aug. 27, *Thursday.* Rode to my father's. Found all well. Heard firing all day.

Aug. 28, *Fri.* At Captain Corlis', etc.

Aug. 29, *Sat.* Visited several of my friends. Mr. Foster not at home. Applied to, to supply the pulpit to-morrow. This day our army retreated to Butt's Hill. The enemy pursued. A pretty warm action, but the enemy repulsed. Our loss: 30 killed, 150 wounded, 20 taken prisoners.

Aug. 30, *Lord's Day.* Preached for Mr. Foster. Mr. Willard supplied my people at home. This evening our whole army came off the Island, without leaving any thing behind.

Aug. 31, *Mon.* Set out home [where he arrived September 2d, by way of Dedham and Boston].

[Soon after his return from the Rhode Island expedition, Mr. Cutler decided upon qualifying himself to practice medicine, with a view, probably, to increase his means of usefulness, and also to secure an increase of income adequate to the wants of a growing family. He provided himself with the works of a number of valuable medical authors, and commenced his studies under the direction of his friend and parishioner, Dr. Elisha Whitney. He likewise accompanied the Doctor in his daily visits to his patients, in order to study the symptoms and development of disease. With a mind well disciplined to study, his progress was rapid. He comprehended almost at a glance the leading principles of the science, and in a very short period won for himself among the medical profession the reputation of a safe and skillful practitioner.]

In December, 1778, a remarkably cold storm is recorded.

Dec. 23, *Wed.* The cold extreme. The air exceedingly full of icy particles; something cloudy, but not so dense as to obscure the sun. The whole atmosphere had an uncommon appearance of an angry cold, as though it was in a turbid state. In the evening the stars were to be seen, but obscure.

Dec. 24, *Thurs.* The last night the coldest I ever remember. Froze in places never known to freeze before. The well froze over near two inches thick. The whole day exceedingly cold, but the air much clearer. Rode to town. The stars very bright and twinkling in the evening.

Dec. 25, *Fri.* Still exceeding cold, but not so extreme. Mr. Forbes here. Cloudy. At evening began to snow. Wind N. E.

Dec. 26, *Sat.* A most violent snow-storm, such as I do not remember. Wind very high at N. E.

Dec. 27, *Lord's Day.* No meeting in the morning. Preached after noon. Clear and cold, the snow much drifted. Such a storm as yesterday's has not been known in the memory of men. Many dumb creatures perished.

Dec. 30, *Wed.* This day appointed by Congress as a day of Thanksgiving through the United States of America. Preached a sermon I prepared for the occasion. Full meeting, considering the state of the roads.

[Amid the distractions incident to the unsettled state of affairs throughout the country, it was difficult for the people to meet their obligations to their pastor, who, with an unpaid salary, was consequently subjected to great inconveniences, much of which was the result of the state of the currency of this time. Dr. Cutler writes: "In 1777 money had depreciated as much, at least, as five for one, but in 1779 it was nearer twenty to one. I have spent considerable of an estate in the support of my family, and now am driven to the practice of physic." He read medicine assiduously, studied anatomy, prepared medicines and attended the sick, in addition to his usual pastoral duties. During the first part of 1779, sickness prevailed in his own parish, and in May and June he had forty small-pox patients under his care at Wenham.]

Jan. 17, 1779, *Lord's Day.* Preached. A contribution for the poor at Cape Ann. Collected eighty dollars.

Feb. 3, *Wed.* Rode to Chebacco, to attend the operation of paracentesis with Dr. Davis.

Feb. 8, *Mon.* Pleasant. Tried a number of very entertaining experiments on the electrical machine in the course of the day and evening. Repeated a number of those mentioned by Dr. Franklin in his letters to Mr. Collinson.

Feb. 9. Rained all day. Tried further experiments.

Mar. 16, *Tues.* Parish meeting. I was desired to go into the meeting, and inform the parish what sum would satisfy me for making good my salary. I declined mentioning any sum. They voted £512, in addition to my old salary.

Mar. 22, *Monday.* A very hard snow-storm. More snow was supposed to fall than has been on the ground at one time this winter, though much drifted.

Mar. 24. A remarkable thick snow-storm the whole day and part of the preceding and succeeding nights. A great quantity fell, so it is judged there is more snow on the ground now than there has been at a time for several years. As much fell as on Monday. Snow banks exceeding high. In both these remarkable storms, though the wind was very high, it was not at all cold.

April 13, *Tues.* At Salem. Brought from Judge Oliver's two scions of the Catalpa tree, a native of America, which grows near the Ohio River.

Apr. 19, *Mon.* Still very cold. Catechised the children. The greatest number I ever had since I have lived in the place. Dr. Orne to visit me.

May 6, *Thurs.* This day was appointed by the Assembly of this State as a day of fasting and prayer. The same day was appointed by Congress to be observed for the same purpose through the States of America. Preached.

May 23, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Dr. Kittredge called to see Sam'l Poland. I visited him with the Doctor—a sensible man.

May 25, *Tues.* Dined with the field and commissioned officers of Colonel Thorndike's regiment, and a number of other gentlemen, upon the common in Beverly, under a tent spread for that purpose. The regiment was paraded on this occasion, and made a tolerably good appearance. Attended Dr. Spofford in dressing an arm which he had amputated. Came home by Wenham to see my small-pox patients.

July 6, *Tues.* Mr. Willard * and I had appointed this day to wait on Dr. Holyoke to see some experiments performed upon a new glass machine constructed for impregnating water with fixed air. The air passed through capillary tubes, alkaline and vitriolic acids, in a state of effervescence to the water, and gave it the taste of the acid, resembling beer or bottled cider.

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* Joseph Willard, D.D., LL.D., clergyman and President of Harvard University, was born December 29, 1738, at Beddeford, Me., where his father, Rev. Samuel Willard, was minister from 1729 to 1741. He lost his father at an early age, and went to sea, but by the aid of friends entered college, and graduated at Harvard, 1765; was tutor there in 1766–72. He was ordained colleague with Rev. Joseph Champney at Beverly, November 25, 1772, and was inducted into the presidency of Harvard December 19, 1781. He published a few sermons, a Latin address on the death of Washington, 1800, and some mathematical and astronomical papers in the Memoirs of the American Academy. He died September 25, 1804.—*Drake's Dic. Am. Biog.*

July 13, *Tues.* Dr. Whitney and I rode to Beverly in the chaise. Sailed out in the new brig, Defense, in company with the Cabots, Captain Brown, and others.

Aug. 23, *Mon.* Carried Mr. Herrick and Mr. Hartwell to Beverly, who were on their return from the eastward expedition to Penobscot.

Aug. 27, *Fri.* Making a screw to express oil castor, etc.

Sept. 9, *Thurs.* Preparing my medicines, etc.

Sept. 12, *Lord's Day.* Exchanged with Mr. Frisbie. Colonel Jackson's regiment passed through town, on their way from the eastward, and came as far as here. They encamped in the Meeting House. The field officers, Colonel Cobb and Major Trescot, put up with me. We lodged four commissioned officers, and supplied the soldiers with sauce, milk, wood, etc., without pay.

Sept. 13, *Mon.* The regiment marched this morning a little after sunrise. They behaved exceeding orderly. They were dressed in uniform, and made a very fine appearance, and are finely officered.

Sept. 21, *Tues.* Attended Mr. Rogers' funeral as a bearer.

Sept. 24, *Fri.* Mrs. Langdon dined and spent the day with us.

Oct. 12, *Tues.* [At Newbury.] Spent the evening at General Titcomb's. A new brig going to sea overset just off the bar. Men saved, but the vessel sank.

Oct. 19, *Tues.* Mr. Balch and I attended, at Boston, the town meeting convened for accepting the Resolves of a Convention at Concord for regulating the prices of goods and the necessaries of life. A number of good speakers.

Oct. 27, *Wed.* Visited the sick. Rode to Mr. Willard's in the afternoon, and carried my telescope. Viewed the sun and Mars. In the evening, we measured the distance of some of the stars with a sextant and telescope, and with Hadley's quadrant.

Nov. 4, *Thurs.* State fast. Preached.

Nov. 10, *Wed.* Attended Mr. Prince's ordination at Salem.

Nov. 25, *Thurs.* Parish meeting. Voted me £1,500 for the present year.

Dec. 1, *Wed.* At Beverly. Drank tea at Andrew Cabot's. Brought home Captain Thorndike's Hadley's quadrant.

Dec. 6, *Mon.* Visited sick. Dined at Mrs. Dabney's. Borrowed her thermometer.

CHAPTER III.

DIARY FROM 1780–1785—STUDIES BOTANY—ESTABLISHES PRIVATE BOARDING SCHOOL.—AMERICAN ACADEMY ARTS AND SCIENCES—FIRST AND SECOND JOURNEY TO WHITE HILLS.

Feb. 2, 1780. Completed a Meteorological Journal for January for the printer. Rode to Salem, and spent the evening at Mr. Andrew Cabot's, at the Club.

Feb. 19, *Sat.* Finished McBride's Practice of Physic, and the making extracts from him.

Mar. 10. Stormy. Engaged in the study of botany.

April 4. Went to town to prove Lieutenant Smith's will. A parish Committee came to make a computation of what was due to me for the years 1778 and 1779.

April 8. Attended the funeral of Captain Bowman, of Topsfield.

April 26. Continental Fast and Annual for this State. Preached. A full meeting.

May 18. Mr. Sewall, of Cambridge, and his wife, here. This morning endeavored to observe the eclipse of the moon, but could not before the moon set in a cloud.

May 19, *Friday.* This morning Mr. Lathrop, of Boston, called upon me. Soon after he came in, I observed a remarkable cloud coming up and it appeared dark. Mr. Sewall and Colonel Wigglesworth came in. The darkness increased, and by 11 o'clock it was so dark as to make it necessary to light candles. The cloud was unusually brassy, with little or no rain. About 12 it lighted up a little, then grew more dark, and at 1 o'clock very dark. In a room with three large windows took profiles, by candle, as well as in the night. Could not read a word in large print close to the window. Dined with two candles on the table. At 4 o'clock it grew more light. A smell was observed much resembling that of burning turf. This continued till 10 o'clock at night. (For more particular account, see my Place Book for remarkable phenomena.) Mr. Guile here about 4 o'clock. Sent by him to Holland for Dr. White's History of Plants. Mr. Lathrop went to Salem. The night extremely dark.

May 20. This morning cloudy. Mr. Sewall set out for Newbury. Exchanged horses with Colonel Wigglesworth. Between 9 and 10 o'clock it cleared away. Observed the sun in the telescope—a large number of black spots visible. Mr. Jackson, Mr. Hilliard, and two other gentlemen stopped to look at it. In the afternoon Mr. Dana here. Studied very hard.

May 21, *Lord's Day.* Preached in the afternoon from Zechariah 14: 67.

May 24. Attended town-meeting for receiving the Constitution.

[The Constitution of Massachusetts was this year adopted by the people.]

May 29. A parish meeting. The parish sent to me to know if I would take the sum the Committee reported for the last two years, which, for the sake of peace, I consented to accept, if paid in three months.

May 21, *Wednesday.* General election. Mr. Everett, Mr. Chickering, and I rode over to Boston. The General Court was escorted to the Meeting House by the Independent Company, where an excellent sermon was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Howard. After the services a handsome entertainment was provided for the court and clergy in Faneuil Hall. After dinner we attended the Convention at the new court-house. But few ministers present. The Rev. Mr. McCarty chosen President. He to preach the next Convention Sermon. Mr. Mellen his second.

June 1. We all came to Boston again and attended Convention. Mr. Bridge preached the sermon. Dined with Mr. Lathrop, an agreeable company, and a fine entertainment. After dinner rode to Cambridge and lodged with Mr. Wigglesworth.

June 2. Spent the forenoon with Mr. Williams and Mr. Sewall in examining the apparatus and library—much entertained. Dined with Mr. Sewall, in company with Mr. Barnard and Mr. Prince. Called on Mr. Gannet and returned home.

June 19. Read Dr. Hale's Vegetable Statics.

June 29. Mrs. Cutler and I made a visit to Mr. Willard. Viewed Saturn's ring through the telescope.

July 3, *Monday*. Visited the sick. Saw Saturn's rings through my glass.

July 10. At Salem. Bought a chaise of Mr. Cook—gave him £1,200. Paid him. [Depreciated currency.]

July 11. General Titcomb, Mr. Holyoke, and Colonel Wigglesworth dined with us. Mr. Garry, a member of Congress, here. Mr. Hemingway drank tea.

July 18. Attended to botany. Mr. Little here last night. Mr. Mansfield dined.

July 20, *Thursday*. Fast through the State on account of the reduction of Charleston (S. C.) by the British troops. Preached.

July 23, *Lord's Day*. Sacrament. Preached. Took a vote of the church and congregation for joining with Messrs. Cleaveland, Dana, and Frisbie in a fast, and for concert in prayer for the coming of Christ's Kingdom.

July 31. Dr. Langdon here. Studied very hard in preparing for the fast.

Aug. 1, *Tuesday*. Quarterly Fast at Mr. Frisbie's Meeting House. The union of the four churches was then completed—Mr. Cleaveland's,* Mr. Dana's, Mr. Frisbie's, and ours. Mr.

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* John Cleaveland was a native of Canterbury, Conn. He had nearly completed his course in Yale College when he and his brother, Ebenezer, were expelled for refusing to acknowledge their sin in attending, with their parents while at home in vacation, a "separatist meeting;" that is, a meeting for separate worship by persons not satisfied with the regular pastor. This act is said to have been in part the cause of the establishment of the College of New Jersey. Many years after both brothers had been settled in the Ministry, Yale College relented and conferred degrees upon them. John Cleaveland was in 1747 settled over a small congregation in Ipswich, where he continued to preach until his death in 1799. He served as Chaplain in Colonel Bagley's Provincial Regiment in the French and Indian War in 1758 and 1759. In 1775 and 1776 he served in the American army in the same capacity. He was a man of ability, a forcible writer and speaker,

Frisbie began with prayer, and I preached in the morning; Mr. Dana began with prayer, and Mr. Cleaveland preached, afternoon. Tolerably full meeting.

Aug. 7. Rode to Andover. At Mr. Holyoke's and sundry places at Boxford.

Aug. 8. At Mr. Pearson's at Phillips' School. Spent the forenoon very agreeably, and dined with him and Mr. Mason, his assistant. Returned home.

Aug. 13, *Lord's Day.* Preached in Salem for Mr. Prince. Drunk tea at Judge Lynde's. My horse got out of the pasture. Judge Lynde sent his negro man to bring me home.

Aug. 19. Messrs. John, Andrew, and George Cabot, Captains Brown, Dobson and Homans, Drs. Spofford, Whitney, and myself went a gunning at Patch's Beach. Found but few birds. A very agreeable but fatiguing time.

[The following letter to Prof. Williams, of Harvard College, shows some of the difficulties Mr. Cutler had to contend with in pursuing his favorite studies, and how much the lack of needed instruments and books retarded his progress at this time]:

IPSWICH, *June* 20, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have read Dr. Hale's Statical Essays, which you was so kind as to procure for me, with pleasure. His experiments appear to have been made with great accuracy and judgment, his inferences clear, and reasoning satisfactory. The only solid foundation for advances in the real knowledge of nature, whose wonderful and secret operations are so involved and intricate, so far out of the reach of our senses, must be by a regular series of experiments. The Doctor's discoveries in his vegetable statics are not only philosophical, but must be very useful in the culture and improvement of vegetables and fruit trees. He has demonstrated many facts I have long wished to ascertain, but, notwithstanding the researches this sagacious genius has made, such a field opens

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fond of controversy, but honored and respected by his congregation and the community in which he lived.

His Journal for the campaign of 1758 is published in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, 1874, from which this sketch is also condensed.

that an innumerable variety of subjects present themselves that admit of further inquiries.

Our climate being incident to much greater changes, especially in the extremes of heat and cold, and the difference and variety of soils will necessarily vary our natural history of vegetation (though the general principles will be the same) from that of Middlesex, in England.

An Apparatus can not at present be procured among us, and but few have leisure to go through such a course of experiments as might be wished for, but, I think, without much of an Apparatus, or expense of time, many useful experiments and observations may be made. Such experiments as are within our power, and careful attention to the state of the atmosphere, and the various circumstances of vegetation in plants and trees, may be found useful.

We are in our infancy, but such attempts in the day of our small things will not be despised. I have thought of several experiments which I fancy may be worth making, but can not well proceed without a Barometer. I have a prospect of getting a tube soon, which you have been so kind as to offer to fill with the mercury. The scale I can get made in Salem, if I could procure a Barometer for a pattern, but there is none in that town. When I have got the materials, must beg the favor of your filling it.

The Meterological Journal, which I began last December, I continued to the first of May, in which I noted the height of the mercury in Fahrenheit's Thermometer in the morning, noon, and night; the course and quantity of the wind, weather, a particular description of every Aurora Borealis, and the diseases in this Town, Beverly, and Salem. I propose to begin my observations again the first day of July, with the addition of such remarks upon the vegetation of plants, trees, and fruits as may be worth noting. But I very sensibly feel the want of a Barometer, without which my Journal must be very defective. If there is any gentleman of your acquaintance in Boston who has a Barometer, and makes little use of it, and would be so kind as to favor me with it, until I can get one completed, shall consider it as a very particular favor;

will use it with the utmost care, and return it as soon as possible.

I have given as much attention to botanical matters, since the spring, as my leisure would admit; among some other things, have found a vegetable, the most singular and remarkable production of nature in its fructification I ever saw, and to which I can find nothing similar in any author I have by me. If I had Dr. Hill's Natural History, I imagine I could make it certain whether that, as well as some other plants, have ever been taken notice of by Botanists. I have sent to Europe for it, but, if it should fail of coming, I wish to know if it would be improper to make application to the Corporation for leave to take the 2d Vol. out of the Library for a short time.

I heartily wish a course of observations similar to those I propose might be made in some other parts of the State at the same time, to be compared. Perhaps, if it should be mentioned at the next meeting of the Academy, some of the members will undertake.

Please present my regards to Mr. Sewall and Lady, and give me leave to subscribe,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

PROF. WILLIAMS. M. CUTLER.

TO THE HONORABLE & REVEREND, THE CORPORATION OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

Gentlemen:—Permit me to represent to your Honorable and Reverend Board that I have been endeavoring, with considerable labor and pains, to investigate the botanical characters of such Trees and Plants as may fall under my observation, which are indigenous to this part of America, and have not been described by Botanists; also to make out a Catalogue of those which are found growing here, but have been found in other parts of the World, and therefore need no botanical description; and of such as have been propagated here, but are not the spontaneous production of the Country. An attempt of this kind, which I am not sensible has yet been undertaken, will be necessary to furnish materials for a Natural History of the Country, in which we are, at present, very deficient.

But I find myself unable to prosecute my Plan for want of some of the latest botanical Publications, not only for determining, with more accuracy, the botanical characters of Trees and Plants, but especially for ascertaining those which have already been discovered and described. I have sent to Europe for several books, and particularly for Dr. Hill's Natural History, but none of them could be procured. I can not find that any of those books, which will be of much advantage, are any-where in this State, except in the College Library.

I therefore beg leave to request that your Honorable and Reverend Board will grant me the favor of Dr. Hill's Natural History from the College Library for a short time, and I will be accountable for the careful usage and safe return of it to the Library again, and will pay whatever sum shall be required for the use of it. Such a favor will confer a very special obligation on, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

IPSWICH, *Jan.* 18, 1781. M. CUTLER.

Jan. 31, 1781, *Wed.* This day the American Academy of Arts and Sciences met for the first time, to do business, after they were organized, when I had the honor of being elected a member; and was accordingly, by their order, notified of it by Mr. Secretary Willard.

Feb. 6, *Tues.* Quarterly fast at Mr. Dana's. A very fine day, and full meeting. Mr. Dana began with prayer, and I preached, in the forenoon; Mr. Frisbie prayed, and Mr. Cleaveland preached, afternoon.

Mar. 13, *Tues.* Thomas Balch went from here to go to sea with Captain Edmunds, bound to Bilboa. Has been here since he came from sea in December. Taught him the art of navigation.

Mar. 16, *Fri.* Made my last observation (in the whole, forty observations), to settle the latitude of my house. The sun's altitude having now exceeded 90 degrees on Hadley's quadrant.

Apr. 2, *Mon.* Violent storm from N. E. I proposed catechising the children at the Meeting House, but the storm prevented.

April 9, *Mon.* Rode to Middletown, and visited Mr. Smith. Got five scions of the Balm of Gilead.

Apr. 11, *Wed.* Received a letter from Mr. Forbes,* inviting me to observe the eclipse at Cape Ann.

[Here a leaf of the manuscript is gone.]

Apr. 16, *Mon.* . . . came just as we had determined the station where we should erect our observatory. I carried my time-piece, which we fixed on the trunk of a tree; and, having cut off the top, a tent was erected over it. The gentlemen at Cape Ann provided lodgings, and afforded us every aid in their power. We lodged at Mr. Baker's.

Apr. 17, *Tues.* Began to take corresponding altitudes for regulating our time-pieces. Came home.

Apr. 18, *Wed.* Went to Salem, to get an azimuth compass of Mr. King, and returned to Cape Ann.

Apr. 20, *Fri.* Rained all day. We went up to the Harbor. Dined and lodged at Mr. Whittemore's, drank tea at Dr. Plummer's, and spent the evening at Captain Epes Sargent's.

Apr. 21, *Sat.* Returned early in the morning to our observatory. Took altitudes. Very windy.

Apr. 22, *Lord's Day.* Mr. Smith had engaged to go and preach for me, but he failed; and Mr. Kendall, who was preaching at the Cape, went to the Hamlet, and Mr. Smith preached for him; so I was at liberty to attend at the observatory all day. Mr. Willard exchanged with Mr. Forbes, and preached at the Harbor. We took our altitudes, and I took the sun on the meridian.

Apr. 23, *Mon.* This day the eclipse happened. Flying clouds this morning, but we were able to take altitudes with great exactness. Mr. Prince came from Salem to observe with us. The clouds thickened towards 12 o'clock; we took the sun, however, tolerably upon the meridian. At 20 minutes after 12 we applied to our telescopes, but could see the sun only now and then, and viewed it for the most part without colored glasses. We none of us saw the first contact; but, when the cloud passed which had obscured the sun at that time, we judged it had begun about 10 seconds, and so fixed the time at 1 40′.20″. We could see the sun at times until near the middle of the eclipse, when the clouds thickened, and we saw it no more. A great number of gentlemen attended with us, and shared with us in the disappointment. We took down our time-pieces, and came up to the Harbor, having in a great measure failed in our design. We got the latitude and measured the distances of a number of noted places. We drank tea at Mr. Peter Coffin's, and spent a very agreeable evening at Mr. Whittemore's, where Mr. Willard and I lodged.

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* Rev. Eli Forbes, born at Westborough, Mass., October, 1726; graduated at Harvard College in 1751; was ordained minister in Brookfield in 1752. In 1758, and again in 1759, he served as chaplain in the provincial regiment commanded by Colonel Timothy Ruggles. In June, 1776, he was installed pastor of the church at Gloucester, where he remained until his death in 1804. Harvard College conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him in 1804. Dr. Forbes possessed a fine scientific taste, well cultivated, and corresponded with many eminent men of his day. See note to *Putnam's Journal.*

Apr. 24, *Tues.* Rainy. We all breakfasted at Mr. John Roger's. Spent the forenoon at Mr. Whittemore's, where we were entertained with a number of very fine pieces of music. We dined at Mr. Forbes', after which Mr. Willard, Mr. Prince, and myself set out for home.

May 3, *Thurs.* Continental Annual Fast. Preached.

May 11, *Fri.* Mr. Whipple, Mrs. Cutler, and myself went to Newbury Port. Dined at Colonel Wigglesworth's. At Mr. John Tracy's, viewed his garden; very fine. He gave me a large assortment of flower seeds.

May 12, *Sat.* Came home. Colonel Wigglesworth and Captain Tileston gave me a barometer.

May 24, 25. Preparing papers for the Academy.

May 29, *Tues.* Mr. Willard and I went to Boston, and attended the Academy at the Court-house. About twenty-two members present. Several communications. I communicated a meteorological journal of the weather, from July, 1780, with the diseases most prevalent in Ipswich, Beverly, and Salem. I also presented the Society a sample of sheet-lint, from Dr. Spofford, who has contrived a machine for scraping it with great dexterity. It was much admired.

May 30, *Wed.* Election of Governor, etc. No military parade or public dinner. Mr. Clark, of Lexington, preached. Mr. Willard and I dined at Mr. Lowell's. I went over to Dorchester at night, and lodged at Mr. Everett's. Mr. Chickering and Oliver there.

May 31, *Thurs.* Mr. Everett and his brother Oliver, Mr. Chickering and I, came over to Boston, and attended Convention sermon. Mr. Mellen preached. Usual collection. A vote of Convention to address the Governor. Dined at Dr. Cooper's, spent the evening at Dr. Eliot's, and lodged at Mr. Williams'.

June 1, *Fri.* Mr. Willard and I came home. Dined at Mr. Payson's; drank tea at Dr. Holyoke's.

June 5, *Tues.* I went to Salem to get a nonius fitted to my barometer. Dined at Mr. Page's. Major Hiller and Mullicks fitted my nonius very well.

June 16, *Sat.* Rode to Newbury. At Dummer's School. At Colonel Wigglesworth's, etc.

June 19, *Tues.* Rode to Beverly, and went to Mr. Willard's with Mr. Barnard, Mr. Prince, and Mr. Fisher. The Proprietors of the Philosophical Library we lately purchased, met at Mr. Willard's to overhaul the books and repair them; which we did, and established the regulations of the Proprietary. We valued a share at thirty hard dollars. Chose Mr. Willard, Librarian; and Mr. Prince, Clerk. Took out books regularly.

July 18, *Wed.* Commencement at Cambridge. Mr. Safford and I set out at day-break, in the chaise, for Cambridge, and arrived at 9 o'clock. A fine Commencement. I dined in the Hall. At night went to Boston.

Aug. 8–11. Preparing papers for the Academy.

Aug. 13–17. Preparing papers for the Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Aug. 20, *Mon.* Preparing for Cambridge.

Aug. 21, *Tues.* Mr. Willard and I set out for Cambridge.

Aug. 22, *Wed.* The Academy met at the Philosophy Hall. Several communications. Some members chosen. A gentleman from England recommended by the General Court to the Academy to be employed under our direction as a mechanic-

Dined with Mr. Secretary Gannet, and drank tea at Mr. Sewall's.

Aug. 23, *Thurs.* Invited to dine with the President at Boston. After dinner came home.

Sept. 8, *Sat.* Rode to Marblehead to preach for Mr. Story.

Sept. 10, *Mon.* As I came home Dr. Fisher and Dr. Spofford desired me to assist them in opening the body of Mrs. Brown of Wrenham. (See account, etc.)

Sept. 21, *Fri.* Mr. Fitch and wife came here.

Sept. 23. Mr. Fitch preached.

Oct. 16. Dr. Stiles here.

Oct. 21, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Mr. Willard lodged with us. Was going to Portsmouth.

Nov. 14, *Wed.* Mr. Payson and I rode over to Cambridge to attend a meeting of the American Academy. But few members present. Dined at Prof. Williams'. Took out of the College Library Catesby's Natural History of the Carolinas.

Dec. 13, *Thurs.* Thanksgiving through the States of America.

Dec. 15, *Sat.* Read Catesby.

Dec. 24–27. Read Catesby's Natural History of the Carolinas and Bahama Islands.

Dec. 29, *Sat.* At Mr. Sumner's. Heard of the death of Brother Thomas Balch.

[Dr. Cutler spent much time with his books in 1781, and "studied hard."]

[Thomas Balch, mentioned in the Journal, was Mrs. Cutler's youngest brother. He had been educated in Dr. Cutler's family. Although scarcely arrived at man's estate love of adventure attracted him to the sea, and in March, 1781, he sailed with Captain Edmunds for Bilboa.

In a letter addressed to the Rev. Mr. Chickering, of Dedham, and dated "Ipswich, Dec. 29th, 1781," Dr. Cutler sends to his mother the following account of his death:

"*Dear Brother:*—The frequently changing scenes that await us in life may prepare our minds for every event of Providence, and convince us that all our hopes and expectations, from our friends, are liable to be cut off. We have an affecting instance of the mutability of present things, in the melancholy fate of Captain Edmunds, and the most of his officers and men, of whom there are now but very few living.

"He was taken by a fifty-gun ship, the Chatham, off Cape Ann, and carried to Halifax, agreeably to the account I wrote to Madam [Balch], which she has doubtless received. We have been able to get no particular accounts from them since they were captured until a Cartel arrived the day before yesterday at Cape Ann. I have been this day to see Captain Treadwell, of this town, who was a prize-master on board Captain Edmunds, and came in the Cartel. He informs me that before they arrived at Halifax an American vessel had been taken, which had the yellow-fever and small-pox on board. This communicated these two most fatal diseases to the people on board ship, and few that had them recovered. Brother Thomas was taken with this fever after they had been some time there, and was carried on shore, where as good care and attendance was afforded as could be expected. After some time he recovered, and got so well as to return to the ship again, but the fever relapsed, and he was carried back to the Hospital, where he expired in a few days. Captain Treadwell is uncertain what day he died, but it was the first of this month, about three weeks before he sailed, which was on the 24th. As the people were allowed their chests, and what was in them when taken, and had made a good voyage, Captain Treadwell thinks he never wanted for things that were comfortable while he was sick. This may afford us some consolation under this bereaving dispensation.

"I feel exceedingly for Madam, who, I fear, will be quite overcome with these melancholy tidings. I have therefore thought it most proper to address my letter to you, and beg you will communicate the sorrowful news to her, in the manner you shall think the least liable to surprise and overcome her."]

[Dr. Cutler was an enthusiast in the pursuit of knowledge, and, particularly apt to teach, he often had pupils under his instruction. In 1782 he decided to devote more time to the business of teaching, and accordingly opened his popular and successful Private Boarding School, which was continued for more than a quarter of a century. His son, Temple Cutler, Esq., gives, in his manuscript notes, some account of this school. "Soon after his settlement at the hamlet, he commenced a school in his own house for the instruction of youth, not only in the various branches of an English education, but also fitted some for college. He often had with him young gentlemen engaged in the study of theology. As early as 1782, he established his Private Boarding School. Many young men, sons of merchants in the West India Islands, of various nations, French, Spanish, and Dutch, obtained their English education with him. Some of the most eminent merchants in Salem, Gloucester, Boston, and other neighboring towns, received the most of their education, or were prepared for college, in his school. They were of the families of Cabot, Derby, Grafton, Lowell, Peele, Silsbee, Pearce of Gloucester, Phelps, Conant, Low, and many more not now recollected. He also taught seamen the art of navigation, giving instructions particularly in lunar observations, then little practiced by navigators. Watkins, of Salem, who published a Nautical Almanac much used, was one of his scholars at Hamilton. Among those he prepared for college were the late Willard Peele, Esq., and the Hon. Nath'l Silsbee, colleague of Daniel Webster in the U. S. Senate."

The Hon. Mr. Silsbee, in a letter dated August 1, 1849, says of Dr. Cutler: "During the four years that I was Dr. Cutler's pupil, and a resident in his family, very much of his time was devoted to botany, so much so as to attract attention, and to cause frequent calls upon him from different parts of our own country, and occasionally from Europe."]

Jan. 25, 1782. Mr. Bly drew the profiles of Mrs. Cutler and myself in miniature.

Jan. 30, *Wed.* Attended the meeting of the Academy in Boston. Dined with Mr. Bowdoin. The Academy met in the afternoon at Mr. Bowdoin's. Made my communication and returned to Cambridge.

Feb. 26, *Tues.* Went to Salem. Dined at Captain Saunders'.

Engaged to take several scholars. Borrowed a telescope from Mrs. Higginson.

Mar. 22, *Fri.* Began observations to regulate my clock for the approaching eclipse. From *Mar.* 23 to *Mar.* 27, made daily observations.

Mar. 28, *Thurs.* Fine air. Made good observations. This evening preparing for observing the lunar eclipse, which began at — o'clock. Mr. Emerson and Mr. Herrick, of Wenham, attended and sat up all night with me, and all my scholars attended to the clocks during the eclipse. The air was very clear. Made a good observation. (*Vide* account.) The eclipse did not go off till after the daylight had considerably advanced.

Mar. 29, *Fri.* Indisposed for any thing, but made an observation on the sun's altitude, and ascertained the going of my clock.

Apr. 3, *Wed.* Began to plow. Planted my West India seeds in hot-bed, as far as No. 12.

Apr. 8, *Mon.* Took altitudes.

Apr. 9, *Tues.* Sowed all my West India seeds. No altitudes.

Apr. 11, *Thurs.* Cloudy. Got altitudes in the morning, but none in the afternoon. Lecture. Preached myself. After lecture went to a wedding at Limebrook.

Apr. 12, *Fri.* An eclipse of the sun. Fine day. (See observation.) Mr. Prince and Mr. Page, of Salem, Dr. Fisher and wife, Mr. Swain, Mr. Parsons and wife, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Fuller, and others. My school lads counted clock. All dined. A good observation. Much fatigued.

Apr. 23, *Tues.* Went to Newbury. Dined at General Titcomb's. Called on Mr. Parsons, the lawyer, and returned. Stormy.

Apr. 24, *Wed.* Set out some mazzard cherries I brought from Mr. Balch's, at Newbury, and some thyme and hawk's weed. Budded several cherries and one plum tree.

Apr. 25, *Thurs.* Fast throughout the States of America. Preached. Pretty full meeting.

Apr. 28, *Lord's Day.* Preached at Marblehead for Mr.

Story. The parish consented that I should give him and his people a day, on account of Mr. Story's long bad state of health. No preaching here. Came home.

May 6, *Mon.* Took Captain Grant's and Captain Muchmore's sons to instruct them.

May 7, *Tues.* Captain Cabot's and Captain Cleaveland's sons came to school.

May 13–17. Preparing my observations of the two late eclipses to present to the Academy.

May 28, *Tues.* Went to Boston. Attended the meeting of the Academy. Dined at Mr. Bowdoin's. Communicated my observations of the lunar and solar eclipses. Went over to Dorchester.

June 4. Attended my boys, which now arrived to the number of nine from Salem.

July 17, *Wed.* Commencement. Mrs. Cutler, Mrs. Hitchborn, and I went from Boston to Cambridge in our chaise. Dined in the Hall. Mrs. Cutler dined at the President's.

July 19, *Fri.* Rode over to Cambridge to offer Sam'l Gardener and William Dodge. Both entered.

Aug. 1–3. Had a window cut out in the school-room. Tables finished for my boys, and twenty stools.

Aug. 5–11. Nothing material this week, except that Tuesday was our quarterly fast at Mr. Frisbie's. Mr. Frisbie began with prayer, I preached, and Mr. Dana prayed. After noon Mr. Cleaveland prayed, and Mr. Bradford preached and prayed. Exercise four hours long.

Sept. 4, *Wed.* I went to the Beach at Mr. Patches' with all the boys.

Sept. 22, *Lord's Day.* Mr. Carnes preached all day for me. I proposed to the church that Thursday, the day of our lecture, should be solemnized as a fast, on account of the extreme drought, which they complied with, and I proposed it to the Congregation.

Sept. 25, *Wed.* Attended fast at Chebacco, on account of the drought.

Sept. 26, *Thurs.* Fast here on account of the drought.

Oct. 5, *Sat.* French Troops marched by.

Oct. 6, *Lord's Day.* Agreed upon an exchange with Mr. Frisbie,* but the French Troops having lodged in his Meeting House, he had no meeting, but came and preached for me all day.

Oct. 7, *Mon.* Attended the funeral of Mr. Rogers, of Cape Ann—Mr. Cleaveland, Mr. ——, Mr. Bowman, Mr. Frisbie, Mr. Fuller, and myself, bearers.

Oct. 21–25. Went to Portsmouth with President Willard to see the America launched, a ship of seventy-four guns, but she did not go off the stocks. Lodged at Mr. Sheaf's; very kindly entertained.

Oct. 27, *Lord's Day.* President Willard preached for me all day.

Nov. 7, *Thurs.* Received an excellent sextant from Newbury.

Nov. 12, *Tues.* Observed the Transit of Mercury over the Sun's disk. Obtained the first internal, the second do., and the second external contact.

Ipswich, *Aug.* 10, 1782.

To Mr. Theophilus Parsons, Newburgh.

Sir:—The rare Phenomenon of a conjunction of the Planets Saturn and Jupiter is expected to take place about the last of October or beginning of November, but you are sensible that these large bodies powerfully act on each other in this situation, and while the centripetal force of the Sun on Saturn is increased, it is diminished on Jupiter, by which means they are greatly disturbed in their motions. The precise time, therefore, of their conjunction can not be ascertained by our best Astronomical Tables. I have been desired to make observations of their approach to each other, in order to determine the true time of their conjunction, but find myself unable to make the necessary observations without a sextant. If you should not attend to this matter, and have no present occasion for your sextant, and will be so kind as to favor me with the loan of it until this phenomenon has taken place, you will do me a very particular favor. You may depend on its being very carefully used and safely returned.

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* Rev. Levi Frisbie, born at Branford, Conn., 1748, entered Yale College, 1767, where he remained three years, then graduated at Dartmouth, 1771, in the first class graduated at that institution. He was ordained a missionary to the Indians, 1772, but was prevented from performing this service by sickness and the Revolutionary War. He was installed at Ipswich, 7th February, 1776, successor of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, and was an able and successful minister, and an earnest patriot. When the tidings of peace came, in 1783, he was selected by the town to deliver an oration, which was published, as was his Eulogy of Washington, in 1800. Mr. Frisbie died February 25, 1806, aged 58 years. Prof. Levi Frisbie, of Harvard University, was his son. See *Felts' Hist. Ipswich.*

Captain Wigglesworth will wait on you with this letter, and I have requested him, should you favor me with the sextant, to take charge of it, and convey it to me by a safe hand.

I am, sir, with sentiments of great esteem,

Your very humble servant,

M. CUTLER.

Jan. 1, 1783. Went to Marblehead to attend the ordination of Mr. Hubbard. Dined with Colonel Glover. Called on Captain Dixey.

Jan. 29, *Wed.* The Academy met in Boston at Concert Hall in the forenoon. I dined with the Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq.* The Academy adjourned to his house in the afternoon. A Committee was chosen for two years, responsible for some communication once a year. The business of this Committee was divided into three general heads, and three members chosen to each: first, Mathematics, Geography, and Astronomy; second, Natural Philosophy, Natural History, etc., including many other branches; third, Physic. The gentlemen appointed were, on the first, President Willard, Prof. Williams, and Mr. Gannet; on the second, Theophilus Parsons, Esq., General Lincoln, and M. Cutler; on the third, Dr. Holyoke,

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*James Bowdoin, a Governor of Massachusetts, was born at Boston in 1727; graduated at Harvard College in 1745; in 1774 was elected a delegate to the first Congress; in 1778 he was chosen President of the Convention which formed the Constitution of Massachusetts, and in 1785 was appointed Governor of that State. He was the first President of the Academy of Arts and Sciences established at Boston, in 1780, and was admitted a member of several foreign societies of distinction. He died at Boston in 1790.—*Biography of Eminent Men, by R. A. Davenport.*

Dr. Warren, and Dr. Tufts. I had the honor of an unanimous vote. This Committee are, among other matters, to examine the communications that have been made to the Academy, and if they find materials, prepare for publishing a volume as soon as may be.

Mar. 17–21. Tarred apple-trees to keep the millers from going up.

Mar. 25, *Tues.* Dr. Holyoke set out with me to attend a meeting of the Committee appointed by the American Academy to meet at Cambridge. We met at President Willard's.

Apr. 1, *Tues.* NEWS OF PEACE between America and Great Britain.

Apr. 29, *Tues.* This day appointed to celebrate the return of Peace. The whole town being desired to assemble at Mr. Frisbie's Meeting House in Ipswich, at 10 o'clock, and a committee having waited on the several ministers, desiring their attendance, I set out from here at 8 o'clock, in company with Captain Dodge and thirty or forty of the parish, who waited on me for this purpose. At 10 o'clock the people assembled in the Meeting House, which was exceedingly crowded.

The Proclamation from Congress being read, Mr. Cleaveland made a short prayer, an anthem was sung, and an elegant oration delivered by Mr. Frisbie, after which an anthem was sung, and the congregation dismissed. Thirteen cannon were fired.

At 2 o'clock an elegant, plentiful collation of cold hams, bacon, tongues, fowls, veal, etc., was spread on two very long tables, on the green, at which all the people partook. This collation was the free donation of the people, which every one through the town, who pleased, sent ready cooked. There was also given a great plenty of spirits and other liquors. When those who came first to the table had dined, thirteen toasts were given by the High Sheriff, and thirteen cannon were discharged for several of the first, and for the rest a smaller number.

In the evening very handsome fire-works were played off—a large number of sky-rockets, serpents, crackers, wheel-works, etc. Many gentlemen illuminated their houses, which appeared very beautiful, and the whole exercises of the occasion were performed with the greatest good order and decorum. Every countenance was smiling, and no intemperance was perceived even among the lowest class. And thus this joyful day concluded, without the smallest accident, to universal satisfaction, and much to the honor of the town. There was given, of the article of meat, between twenty-one and twenty-two hundred weight, and one hundred dollars in money. This day was eight years and ten days from the commencement of the war.

May 27, *Tues.* (Boston). Academy met at the Court-house. Dined with Hon. Mr. Bowdoin. Afternoon the Academy met, for the first time, at the new hall in the Manufacturing House, which is assigned by the General Court for the use of the American Academy and Medical Society.

May 28, *Wed.* General election, but no public entertainment. Mr. Cummings, of Billerica, preached.

June 4, *Wed.* Attended meeting of the Proprietors of the Philosophical Library, at Salem.

June 9–28. Botanizing and attending to my boys.

June 30, *Mon.* Mr. Forbes, Mr. Fuller, and I rode round Cape Ann and examined many fossils.

July 1, *Tues.* Rode down to Squam and found some very curious fossils.

July 16, *Wed.* (at Cambridge). Commencement. Nothing very extraordinary.

July 18, *Fri.* Kendall and Mason examined.

[The remainder of July was spent in botanical walks in Bradford and Haverhill, along the Merrimack River. No farther record of 1783 is found.]

Jan. 21, 1784. This evening a comet was seen, but I did not see it.

Jan. 25, *Lord's Day.* Preached. This evening I saw the comet, and viewed it with the telescope. Measured the length of its tail and distance from several stars.

Jan. 28, *Wed.* Mr. Payson rode with me to Boston to attend the meeting of the Academy. At Mr. Bowdoin's in the forenoon. The Committee for Printing met at night at Mr. Guild's lodgings and adjourned to the next morning.

Jan. 29, *Thurs.* We prepared a subscription paper for printing a Volume of the Transactions of the Academy, and advertisements for the papers, and put them into the hands of the printers.

Feb. 10, *Tues.* Busy in sending abroad subscription papers.

Feb. 18, *Wed.* Sent off a package of subscription papers.

Mar. 30, *Tues.* Went to Cambridge in company with Dr. Orne, and met the Committees at President Willard's. Dined with the President.

Mar. 31, *Wed.* Committees sit. Dined with Mr. Gannet. Went to Boston in the evening.

Apr. 1, *Thurs.* Meeting of the Academy. Dined at Mr. Bowdoin's. Met in the evening on the business of printing.

Apr. 2, *Fri.* Colonel Baldwin, Mr. Guild, and I went to the printers and engravers, and contracted with them for printing a Volume of the Transactions.

Apr. 4, *Lord's Day.* Mr. Little, of Wells, here, and preached for me.

Apr. 29, *Thurs.* At a fast, Upper Parish, Beverly, on account of settling a minister. I began with prayer, and Mr. Wadsworth preached. In the afternoon Mr. Holt began with prayer, and Mr. Swain preached.

May 25, *Tues.* Mr. Payson and I went to Boston. Attended the meeting of the Academy.

[The remainder of the Daily Journal is lost, but in a small book is found Dr. Cutler's Journey to White Hills, 1784]:

Monday, *July* 19. Set out from Ipswich for the White Hills in company with Dr. Fisher,* Mr. Heard, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Bartlett. Rain in the morning, foggy, and showers through the day. Arrived at Newbury Port at six, passed the ferry, and lodged at Captain Wells', at Hampton Falls.

Tues., *July* 20. Rode to Exeter and breakfasted. Traveled down on the north of the river, thro' New Market, Lamper Eel, Durham, Dover, and dined at Mr. Belknap's. Mr. Little and Mr. Belknap* joined us. Went on, passed thro' part of Summersworth, which lay mostly to the eastward, arrived at Mr. Haven's, at Rochester, where we lodged. Here the thermometers, at seven in the evening, stood as follows: Out-doors, in the shade, 78°; in-doors, 82°.

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* Dr. Fisher, of Beverly, President of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

At this house we have a very extensive prospect in every direction; we calculate its extent at 90 miles. At half after 9 h., the thermometer, out-doors, 73°; in-doors, 79°. Wind S. E.—half after 4, morn., out-doors, 66°; in-doors, 77°.

Wed., July 21. Pursued our journey. Mr. Wingate joined us—a worthy man, from Rochester. We also hired a guide, Mr. Place, for four dollars, to carry us to the White Mountains. From Mr. Haven's we traveled fifteen miles in Rochester—plain, pine land, thin soil, houses low and poor. Made a stage at Joseph Plummer's, came to Wakefield, and dined at Captain David Copp's. This town appears to be fine land, tho' but little cultivated.

In Rochester we rode some ways by Cochecho River, which empties at Dover, and by Salmon Falls River and Three Ponds, before we arrived at Wakefield. We also passed the Three Giants, which are three steep cobble hills. In Wakefield are fine fields of rye, peas, and Indian corn planted on new ground, grows large and bears good crops without being hoed. The growth in Wakefield—red oak, beech, maple, pine, and hemlock, and a great plenty of the Imperial raspberry.

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* Rev. Daniel Little, of Wells, Maine, and Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D., Pastor of the Church at Dover, New Hampshire, where he preached for twenty years. Dr. Belknap was a graduate of Harvard in 1764. In 1787 he was called to the pastorate of the church in Long Lane, Boston. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was the author of a history of New Hampshire and of two volumes of American Biography, and a frequent contributor to the Columbian Magazine. His correspondence with Ebenezer Hazard, from 1779 to 1798, was published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1877. In it is Dr. Belknap's journal of this tour to the White Mountains. He died in 1798.

Here we had a fine view of the Moose Mountain height. It is well wooded, mostly oak, and in form nearly oval. The country to the north very mountainous, and its appearance has a most noble effect. We have now a view of Ossipee Mountain. This stage is twenty-two miles from Dover. In our way from hence to New Garden, we passed over a branch of Pine River, which is a branch of the Great Ossipee, where we saw a beaver-dam. It was old and the sticks so nearly rotten we could not see them. It appeared like a mill-dam with some quantity of earth thrown up. Our road bad, the surface exceedingly uneven, in some places very rocky, with sharp hills. The growth in some parts, red oak, in others, pine. For several miles the Norway pines are amazing tall and straight; also beech and birch. There are few settlements, mostly indifferent, but a most enchanting prospect thirteen miles from here.

At seven o'clock we arrived at Captain Brown's, in New Garden, ten miles from our last stage. At half after seven o'clock the thermometer stood, out-doors, 66°; in-doors, 71°. Thermometer at 9 o'clock stood, out-doors, 65°; in-doors, 70°. Wind S. E.; weather fair.

Thurs., July 22. This morning thermometer, at 4½ o'clock, out-doors, 63°; in-doors, 66°. Mr. Brown, in four years, has built a house and barn, and cleared ninety acres of land. Growth, beech, maple, and pine; soil, light and sandy. From Brown's to Ossipee Pond is seven and a half miles; the first growth, very tall pines and birches; passed Pine River, a branch of the Great Ossipee. At Ossipee Pond we made a stage, having passed thro' several miles of pitch and Norway, yellow-pine plains. No house, but an oat-trough at the foot of the bridge over Ossipee River, just below where it runs out of the pond. Here we caught a number of fish called whittens; we had no other bait than whortleberries and blue-berries, at which they very readily bit. Saw many large barbel or suckers. The river is large and the bridge very long. In this river we saw a very large snake swimming, which we supposed was either a black snake or a water adder. We had killed one pigeon in the woods, and killed another at the pond. A number of us bathed in the pond, which is large, nearly round, and five miles across. It is shoal on the side we were on, which was the southern. The shore much resembled the beach on the sea-shore for many miles. We had here a grand view of ranges of mountains, N. W., N., N. E., and E., arising one above another. Whiteface was in plain sight; on the other points were tall woods. At this pond we gave our horses oats, and refreshed ourselves with rum and water.

From hence we rode five miles over pitch and Norway-pine plains, with very low shrubs, sweet fern, and brakes; very hot and tedious. We came now to a number of miserable huts, on very poor, rocky, rough land, constantly uphill and down. In Eaton, at six and a half miles from the pond, we made a stage at a low, poor, log house, with stones roughly thrown together for a chimney. They had nothing to supply us with but bread. We cooked our fish and pigeons, and with pork and bacon fried up in one mess, we made a most sumptuous dinner. This is a most wretched place indeed; the heat extreme, but did not take out our thermometer. From hence we rode thro' the same kind of barren plains six miles, when we entered Conway, in Pigwocket, and were most agreeably entertained with a total change of soil, from miserably barren plains to the finest intervale I ever saw, with a number of very well built houses and fine farms. Stopped by showers of rain at Mr. Abbot's, just at the entrance of Pigwocket. In the remainder of our way to Colonel McMullen's, three miles farther and nine from our stage in Eaton, in our last three miles we were highly delighted with the forming, rising, and descending of clouds below the adjacent mountains. It is common here for clouds to appear on a horizontal level from where you stand, wholly concealing from the sight mountains at a small distance, and it will frequently rain hard on the intervale when the sun shines on the mountains just by. These scenes have a most agreeable effect.

At six o'clock we arrived at Colonel McMullen's, at Conway, after riding twenty-five miles from Brown's. A fine house, and grand provisions—cucumbers, peas, lamb, etc. Two miles back, on the borders of the intervale, we were informed where there were once two Indian forts. Here we met with Mr. Whipple, who joins us with his servant.

The day has been fair until five o'clock, then showers; at sunset it rained very hard. Air much cooler. Thermometer at nine o'clock, in-doors, 74°.

Friday, July 23. This morning fair. At half past five, thermometer, in-doors, at 69°. Here we procured another guide, who acted likewise as an ax-man—Captain Evans—and endeavored to hire another, but were unable to do it. At a quarter after 8 we set out from Colonel McMullen's for the White Mountains, our course northerly, and the road pretty good for four or five miles; a few small huts, then bad road to Copp's, eight miles from Colonel McMullen's. This is the last house. Baited our horses for half an hour, and then set out for the White Mountains at 17 minutes after 11 o'clock, our course by Ellis River, a branch of Saco; the road so filled up with windfalls that we were obliged to travel in a thick hemlock, spruce, beech, and birch wood the most of the way until we crossed the river about three miles up, the road still bad, until we arrived at the eastern notch of the White Mountains, near a swamp, or beaver meadow, in which Ellis River takes its rise and runs south. From the northern end the stream runs the other way, dividing in a small body of still water in the meadow. The stream N. runs into Peabody River, or may be properly the rise of it, as the east end is of Ellis. At both ends are beaver dams.

About three-fourths of a mile from our camp New River descends from the foot of the mountain into Ellis River. This river is supposed to have broken out about the 21st of October, 1775, as there was about that time successive rains for several days, and on that day a very uncommon freshet in the rivers adjacent. Mr. Whipple informs us that on that day the freshet in the river in his plantation was so sudden that cattle on his intervale were in danger of being drowned, and he sent a servant only sixty or seventy rods to bring them off, but the bridge over the river which he passed was carried away before he had time to return. Colonel McMullen says that Ellis River was higher at his house than ever known, except once before, and the water ran muddy for some weeks. Soon after this freshet the river was discovered, and was not there before. We passed the river at its entrance into Ellis River, just below a most beautiful cascade, which we judged must be upward of 100 feet perpendicular—some thought at least 150—declivity 75°. The bank was washed down six or eight feet, and all the trees were carried away in the course of the stream, which was through a large growth of wood. The rocks at the lower part of the cascade were a very fine slate, the laminæ of a proper thickness for tile; higher up, the rock had an uncommon appearance, very shiny. Some had laminæ, very light; others with circular striæ, various colors. Some strata of talc, probably large quantities, some flint. Above the cascade the river has a moderate descent. From toward the mountain above, at the distance of seventy or eighty rods from the top of the cascade, large stones appeared to have been brought down by the water, breaking off large trees at the height of a man's head; breaking the trunks in short pieces, the ends of which were shivered into small splinters, and wedged in among the rocks. In one place the trunks of large trees were curiously lodged in the form of a circular dam, by being stopped by the stumps, nearly as high as a man's shoulders, and filled up above with large rocks of circular form, some small, and others nearly of a ton's weight —perhaps more. This pile was rounding on the top above the dam, and nearly horizontal upward toward the mountain. On one side appeared to be a fine iron mine, the stream that ran from it of a deep rusty color, and the taste highly impregnated with ferruginous particles. Farther up there appeared to be two very large rocks, a little separated, from whence we supposed the river rose out of the hill. Here we saw water, but did not go to it. Up the mountain we saw a large vale, in nearly a straight line, in which we saw a very small run of water that descended down the course of the river. At this time we fully determined to explore the river thoroughly, and measure the cascade, etc., but the shortness of our time, and returning another way, prevented.

Our ax-men and guides built us a very comfortable tent with spruce bark for our lodging this night, three-fourths of a mile farther north, and just beyond a considerable river that runs down from the mountain. This tent was not begun until eight in the evening. We have been from 11 o'clock A. M. to 8 P. M. in traveling eight miles. A large fire was made before our tent, and the bottom covered with the boughs of hemlock. Opened my thermometer, and noted the height. Found one of my barometers broken, and the mercury lost. The other was hung up, and the range noted.

We turned our horses into the meadow and baited them, then tied them by the head all night. Slept poorly, on account of my being very cold. The night was exceedingly chilly in this situation, which was between two extremely high mountains, and in a very tall wood, the ground covered with an underwood of moose bush.

Saturday, July 24. This morning noted barometer and thermometer. Prepared to go up the mountain. For our march up the mountain, see Journal. Set out at 15 minutes after six. From the tent the ascent was in general pretty uniform. The growth below very tall, consisting of spruce, hemlock, pine, beech, etc., I suppose more than 100 feet. Our ascent, I suppose, from 25° to 45°, varying in places from one to the other.

We ascended on the north side of a considerable river * which run down from the mountain, but crossed it to the southward some ways below the clear. The stones in this river were curious, containing talc, starry appearances, and many very light, but we had not time to examine them critically. We ascended the mountain, after we had crossed the river, until the growth, which gradually diminishes, became low shrubs of spruce and hemlock, having passed through growths of different kinds of wood on our way. In passing through these shrubs, which were from ten to two feet high, we were greatly fatigued; sometimes crawling under them, at others we mounted on to their tops, and were frequently supported by them for a few steps, until we plunged through them. Our guides often wished for their snow-shoes, with which they imagined, and I thought with good reason, that they could walk very well on their tops. But this kind of walking did not extend above sixty or seventy rods before we came into the clear, as it is called, which is above the trees, and I judged about two thirds of our way up the mountain. We arrived here thirty-two minutes after ten.

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* "This stream we called *Cutler's River.*" *Belknap Hazard Letters*, vol. 1, p. 105, note.

The mountain above the shrubs has the appearance of a close-fed pasture, with many detached rocks rising above the surface. As we advanced we found it to be a mere mass of rocks, covered with a mat of long moss, their crevices and between them filled up with various kinds of vegetables, most of them such as we had never before seen. Here we found a very short kind of vine, which bore a fruit somewhat resembling the cranberry, which was nearly quite ripe. The berries that were ripe were black, but some of them were still green; their taste very disagreeable. There were some other berries on stems about two or three inches high, and several vegetables in bloom. There were large beds of what is called the Labrador tea, of a very aromatic taste and smell. We found near springs of water a vegetable nearly resembling the narcissus in the bloom, but the leaves were oblong; the smell agreeable. Among the rocks were spruces about three or four inches high, which had been perhaps growing several thousand years to obtain this height; the winds and snows have kept their tops even with the surface of the rocks, which made them appear as though they had been mowed; and they were sufficiently firm to support us as we walked upon them. Near the border of the shrubs the declivity of the mountain is not so steep as below, which we called a plain, though here the ascent may be fifteen or twenty degrees. Our ascent, after we pass over this plain, was not less than forty-five or fifty degrees until we reach the first summit. In many places the rocks are bare for a considerable distance, in the course we ascended, for several feet in width; and we greatly facilitated our ascent by climbing up these rocks, which are large and detached like the others. These long strips of bare rocks, I presume, gave rise to the notion of staircases; but they are without the least appearance of regularity, and were evidently washed bare by the descent of large torrents of water occasioned by the dissolving of the snow.

While we were ascending this part of the mountain, a new and curious scene opened to our view. Clouds were forming, moving, and dissipating by turns, in every direction. For the most of the time we had clear sunshine, but were repeatedly involved in clouds rolling on the sides of the mountains. The whole process of cloud-making was apparent, and struck us with an agreeable surprise. Large columns rise (from below and ascending on each hand of us in the deep channels that are made in the mountain, probably by the descent of water) until they reach a colder and rarer region of the air, when they spread horizontally and descend to the regions below.

Toward the neighboring mountains they appeared in a different form. As the clouds accumulated vapor from the valleys beneath, condensing in one part, dissipating in another; some columns rising, others falling, others moving in various directions. Thus the region of atmosphere, for many thousand feet, occupied by these vapors, appeared in the most delightful confusion, all in motion, and in every direction at the same instant. When we were near the summit we were highly amused with large and dense clouds moving along the mountain, perhaps a thousand feet below us. Over our heads there was a very rare haze, through which the sun shone very clear —it appeared high. We arrived at the summit 32 minutes after 11 o'clock.

As we ascended the first summit, we had certainly one of the most extensive prospects that any part of New England exhibits. This most mountainous part of the country appeared sunk into a plain as far as the sight of the eye could reach, interspersed with inconsiderable moles to vary the prospect. It suggested immediately the idea of viewing an extensive marsh from an eminence far above it, with numerous stacks and cocks of hay settled down and extending over a broad base. Though the day was unfavorable for a distant prospect, yet I saw the sea very plainly, south-east and south, for a considerable distance. At the summit we had an extensive view N. E., N., and N. W. In these directions the plain was not so level, several mountains towered their heads, and seemed to vie with those we were ascending, but still were far below them, and our field of view exceedingly extensive. The scene to the west and south-west was somewhat similar. The immense plain which the eye now commanded was of a beautiful verdure, variegated with different shades of green from the different trees that overspread it, and still diversified with a few scattered plantations.

When we had reached the first summit, we had arrived above the limits of vegetation. This summit was an irregular pile of detached rocks of a dark gray appearance, and seemed to be composed of talcs, flint, and a hard grayish stone. It is not very high, nor did I think at the time to form any judgment of its height. Think it could not exceed 100 or 150 feet. West and north-west of this summit is an extensive plain, with an easy declivity to the north-west. It appears as smooth as a grass-plot, and may be three-quarters of a mile in extent, though our party varied very much, afterwards, in our opinion of its dimensions. It was spread over with much the same kind of vegetation we had seen below the summit. In the south-west part of this plain the Sugar-loaf, as it is called, is situated. This also is an immense pile of large detached rocks of the same kind with the pinnacle; the ascent not so steep as in some other parts of the mountain we had ascended. At the foot of it vegetation ceases. We were an hour and twenty-one minutes walking from the first summit to the pinnacle of the Sugar-loaf, and had the best walking of any part of our journey from the bottom of the mountain. We arrived at this pinnacle six minutes after one,

Soon after we arrived, and before we had time to make any of those observations and measurements respecting distant objects, for which purpose we had been at the pains of carrying proper instruments to this height in the atmosphere, we had the mortification to be involved in a dense cloud. With hope, however, that it would soon pass over, as other clouds had done during our ascent, we attended immediately to our barometer and thermometer. On the northern side of one of the highest rocks we found a very convenient place for suspending them at the ends of two walking-sticks, which we put over the rock and confined them by laying on large stones. The thermometer I chose to carry up myself, for fear of accident. Before I set out from our tent, I shifted my dress, apprehending it would be cold. I put on a winter baize jacket with sleeves, a thick broadcloth jacket, and then lashed my greatcoat about me with a belt. The thermometer was in a glass tube, which was placed in a shagreen case. This case I put within the folding of my greatcoat for the convenience of carrying it, but the fatigue of ascending the mountain had produced so profuse a sweat that the back part of my greatcoat was wet through, and the mercury in the thermometer, when I first took it out of the case, ranged 120–128° above fever heat. Suspending it in the air, it ranged at 2 o'clock at 56°, at half after 2 o'clock at 52°, and at 3 at 44°. The mercury in the barometer ranged at 21.80 inches, and remained much at the same height during our stay, not making any sensible variation.

When I had taken off the piece of wood that defended the tube, and the thick piece which covered the reservoir, I perceived some particles of mercury had exuded through the leather of the reservoir, and upon screwing down the plate of brass beneath, I perceived some air bubbles in the tube, neither of which was observed at the foot of the mountain. I imputed this to the repeated blows the barometer had against trees and rocks in the ascent, notwithstanding all possible care in the man who carried it. When I opened it I was surprised to find the tube was not broken, though I had taken great pains to secure it in the best manner I was able. In returning it was further injured, and some quantity of the quicksilver lost, so that I could make no farther use of it, and was prevented trying it at the bottom again. I therefore make deduction for the loss of mercury and for air bubbles, which I measured the defect of at the top, and place the range at 22.60, which will give 9,000 feet for the height of the mountain. The Sugar-loaf I suppose to be about 400 or 500 feet above the plain.

We dined at 2 o'clock, on the pinnacle of the Sugar-loaf, on partridges and neat's tongue. We found on the highest rock an old hat, which was left there in June, 1774. One of our guides was of the party that left it.

The cloud that involved us, instead of dissipating or passing off as we hoped, increased in density until an object could be seen but a very small distance, and was so dark as to appear like the near approach of night in a cloudy day. Our party employed themselves in engraving the first letters of their names on the rocks. A sheet of lead, with our names upon it, and the day of the month and year, was laid on one of the highest rocks, and secured by laying another rock upon it. This we left with the hat we found, as marks by which after visitors might know we had been before them.

We had not been long on the summit of the Sugar-loaf before we were greatly affected with cold. It was not a sharp, but most severe, chilly cold. Before three, my teeth chattered most violently in my head, and I felt a universal rigor, which so affected my arms and hands that, when I repacked my thermometer and barometer, I had almost lost the use of my fingers. This occasioned the thermometer's being more slightly secured than when it was packed at the foot of the mountain, and in returning it was so disastered as to lose almost all the mercury, so that no farther observations could be made with it. The wind was all the time S. W., and a fresh breeze.

At 3 o'clock we were prepared to descend the mountain. The cloud was then exceeding dense, but we perceived very little moisture. Our guides then informed us that, tho' they had frequently observed the course of our ascent by their compasses, yet, having made so much of a circuitous march from the first summit over the plain, in order to gain an easier ascent of the Sugar-loaf, they were wholly at a loss what point to steer, and said they could not undertake to lead us down, and declined the attempt. This threw us for a time into a very disagreeable dilemma. We insisted they should make the attempt, for the cold was now so intense that we were exceedingly anxious to descend into warmer regions. This brought on some altercation between them as to what point of compass would admit of the most easy descent, and (as is common among those people) each was tenacious of his own opinion, and each insisted that the other should take the lead. We were at length obliged to interpose and insist that they should endeavor to lead us into our old track, as near as possible, to the first summit.

This was finally agreed on, and we began our descent with the greatest speed, as the time was now far elapsed, and we wished to recover a comfortable degree of warmth. Our descent of the Sugar-loaf was much steeper than our ascent. After traveling about an hour, we came to a more gentle declivity, where we refreshed ourselves at a most excellent spring. Before we came to this spring the moisture in the cloud was very sensible, much like a thick mist. We traveled but a little way on this more moderate decline before we came to a very steep precipice. Our prospect was so bounded by the density of the cloud that we could see but a few feet, distinctly, before us, and therefore apprehended no great danger in attempting to descend it, which indeed appeared absolutely necessary, as we could see no way to avoid it. We found a small gully, in which we made our way down. Assisted by holding by the sides with our hands, and the roughness of the rocks under our feet, we descended a long way without being able to see but a few feet before or behind us. This indeed was our security, for we never could have traveled where we did, if we could have had a view of our situation; but the novelty of traveling in the clouds, and the hope that we should not be totally lost in them, kept our minds cheerful until we had descended at least 1,000 feet, some supposed 2,000 feet, when the gully grew wider, more steep, and slippery. Our guide began to suspect we could not get down to the bottom of the precipice, and desired us to stop while he attempted to reconnoiter a little further. He was soon out of sight. After waiting some time for his return to us, or to hear him call to us to advance, we began to be anxious about him. The gentleman next to him called as loud as he could, repeatedly, but received no answer. I was then about the middle of the file in which we marched, but feeling concerned for the guide, I descended down below the gentleman that had walked next to him, and called repeatedly, but was not answered. As far as I could see below was a most horrid precipice, and it appeared to me that no person could go any further without great hazard of his life. We were now in a sad dilemma. Our guide, we concluded, was either killed, stunned, or had received some kind of disaster which rendered him unable to answer us. It was not possible for us to go to him, and it was doing great violence to our feelings to think of leaving him without knowing any thing of the condition he was in. At length Mr. Whipple came down to me and passed some feet below me, and after hallooing very loud several times, the guide heard him and answered so that Mr. Whipple could hear him, but I could not hear him where I stood. He told Mr. Whipple he had slipped and slid down several hundred feet, but throwing his ax down before him, and holding with his hands as much as possible by the rocks, he at length stopped gradually and was not hurt; that he was so far through the cloud that he could see tolerably well below him; that it was not in his power to come to us, nor in ours to come to him, without the greatest hazard; that he had only one bad precipice to descend, and that he would attempt to go down, and meet us at the border of the woods. This—

[Here the manuscript breaks off abruptly; but from an account of the tour, written by Rev. Daniel Little, of Wells, one of the party who ascended the mountain, it appears that after the accident to the guide, by which, however, he was not seriously injured, the explorers, finding themselves surrounded by a cold, dense fog, as soon as they reached "the first growth of wood large enough for a good fire, encamped for the night." *July* 25. "We descended the remaining part of the mountain and arrived at our encampment between 8 and 9 o'clock. Found Dr. Fisher and Mr. Belknap well and the horses safe. Mr. Belknap being very corpulent and Dr. Fisher in poor health, they had tarried with a servant in the camp," and did not attempt the ascent. The party immediately set out with Mr. Joseph Whipple for Dartmouth, the nearest human habitation, twenty-six miles distant; but the windfalls and bushes in a road unimproved for seven years made their progress exceedingly slow, night came on, and they were obliged to camp in the woods till morning. On the 26th, at 11 o'clock, they arrived at "Dartmouth, a town granted to Mr. Whipple, of Portsmouth, who has eight settlers and resides here himself in the summer. It is on Israel's River, which comes out of the great mountain." They remained there the next day. A sermon was delivered by Dr. Belknap to an audience of thirty-eight persons, the first sermon ever preached there, and eight children were baptized. Here the party, ten in number, separated and returned to their homes. This was the first scientific exploration of the White Mountains.

Two or three years later, Dr. Cutler planned another expedition to these mountains with Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Jr., to be made in the summer of 1787, but at the time proposed Dr. Cutler's connection with the Ohio Company, and the part assigned him in the business of that association, took him to New York and indefinitely postponed the trip to the mountains.

It was not until July, 1804, twenty years after his first tour, that, with several friends, among whom were Prof. W. D. Peck* and Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch, Dr. Cutler again visited the White Mountains. He had for many years been much interested in botanical investigations, and on this excursion his attention was chiefly directed to collecting specimens for the elucidation of this study. In this he was aided by Mr. Peck, also an ardent botanist. An account of this visit in 1804 is here subjoined.]

July 23, 1804, *Monday*. Having prepared my instruments, set out at seven in the morning for the White Mountains, in my chaise, with black Jesse on horseback. At Mr. Tyng's, Newbury Port, met Mr. Peck, who went with me in the chaise. Here Messrs. Samuel P. Gardner, John Williams, Timothy Williams, Nath'l Lee, Nath'l Bowditch, overtook us in a coach and four horses. We dined at Wells', Hampton. Mr. Peck and myself lodged at Gage's, in Dover, leaving our company at Pisqua-Bridge.

July 24, *Tuesday*. Started early. Breakfasted at Mr. Haven's, Rochester. Dined at Plummer's, Milton, where we met with Mr. Jonathan Dodge, of Ossipee, who kept company with us and conducted us to his house, where we were entertained with much hospitality. We arrived at eleven at night.

July 25, *Wednesday*. Waited till eleven in the morning before the coach came up. Mr. Dodge went on with us. Crossed Ossipee River just where it goes out of the Pond. Botanized on the shore of the Pond, as we had done the preceding days, all the way on the road. Arrived at Perkins', Eaton, where we all lodged. Road excessively bad. Best attendance they could give us.

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* William Dandridge Peck, Prof. of Nat. Hist. in Harvard University.

July 26, Thursday. Started early. Went on to Abbott's, Conway, where Mr. Dodge left us and returned. Forded the Saco River, and arrived at Mr. McMullen's at twelve. Dined; an excellent house. Went on to Emory's, where we left the chaise. (Mr. Peck procured a horse, and, with one of the guides, went on to Meservy's, in Adams.) All of our company and most of our guides lodged here.

July 27, Friday. Placed a barometer and thermometer in the shade abroad. Mr. Hollis, the coachman, undertook to take the range every half-hour from 8 in the morning to 4 P. M. Started at 7 with our guides, Captain Chubbuck, McMullen Nute, John Thomson, Burnham, and Mr. Abiather Eastman, who came on this morning as a volunteer. Rode about two or three miles; found the road so obstructed with trees, obliged to send our horses back. Proceeded on foot to New River and the Meadow, in the east Notch, about three miles. Took our departure for the top of the mountain. Ascended about three hours, and made a sort of a tent, covered with boughs; kindled a large fire, and slept very well.

July 28, Saturday. At daylight breakfasted, selected our instruments, and left our baggage. After traveling about two hours, came to the short growth of wood, where we were obliged to get on the tops of the trees, which became shorter and shorter, although the trunks were large and the tops spreading, having been pressed down with an almost perpetual body of snow. With extreme fatigue and diligence, we got above them at 9 o'clock. The mountain above us then appeared like a close-fed pasture, and very steep for a long distance. One of the guides failed, and was attacked with the cramp. We left him, and began our ascent, but, after traveling some way up the mountain, Messrs. Gardner, Lee, and Bowditch were so overcome with fatigue as to turn back with one of their guides, Burnham, and returned to the tent. We proceeded, and after gaining the summit of this very steep part of the mountain, which I judged was elevated 60° from a horizontal line and about 1,200 feet elevation, we came to a plain. Here we had a view of about nine ascending summits, which rose to different heights from broad rocky bases, and seemed very much to limit the vegetation of mosses, grasses, and low shrubs, which below were growing between and in the crevices of the rocks, so far as to make an even surface with them. But from the base of these pinnacles to their summits, consisting of detached rocks, there was sprinkled over them a species of moss, not much larger, nor rising higher, than a large pin's head. They gave the rocks a spotted appearance of different colors, whitish, reddish, brownish, and rusty. The rocks of the mountain are mostly granite, mixed with some quartz, mica, and a silicious stone of a dark brownish color. After passing two of these pinnacles south-westerly, we ascended on the south side of a third, where we took the altitude of the sun at 12; it was 67° 24′. The elevation continues to the foot of the fourth, which is the highest part of the mountain. We arrived at half past twelve. On taking my thermometer from my bosom, within my flannel waistcoat, and giving it to Mr. Peck, he and John Williams declared that the mercury, when they opened the lid, filled the tube, which was graduated to 140°. Being engaged with preparing the barometer, I did not see it myself until it had fallen. The barometer was a tube in which the mercury had been boiled to exclude the air, and then hermetically sealed. On removing the seal and cork, it required about an inch of mercury to fill it. Having filled the tube, I immersed the end in a vessel of mercury, and erected and confined the tube, placing the thermometer close to it, and left them to get the true temperature of the air. In this position they remained about two hours, but I repeatedly took the range of both—barometer, 23.24 inches; thermometer, 53°. By the theodolite we were elevated several degrees above all the other pinnacles of the mountain. The distant horizon smoky, no clouds about the mountain, but the sun, for the most of the time, was partially obscured by thin clouds at a great height above us.

We dined, and at three began our descent, very much chilled, but not very cold. Saw banks of snow far below the summit. Found many new vegetables on the sides of the mountain, and preserved specimens. Our fatigue in descending was extreme. We entered the wood in a deep valley to the southward of our ascent, where we made a fire, at dark, and slept without any tent or cover.

Springs of water are frequent quite to the summit. We suffered still very much from drought, but the air was fine, having a spring which invigorated and made us alert in the midst of the greatest fatigue, which was far beyond what could have been endured below.

July 29, *Sunday*. Began our march at daylight; missed our tent, and was obliged to send our guides back to find it, and bring on our baggage. Our friends had gone on the night before. Near the foot of the mountain and meadow, we were met and assisted by the people who had come with our horses. Arrived at Mr. McMullen's at sunset.

July 30, *Monday*. Spent the day in examining and arranging our vegetable specimens, which were many, until 4 P. M. Went on to Fribourgh, and lodged at Osgood's.

Aug. 2, *Thursday*. Arrived at home at sunset.

Jan. 2, 1785. In the evening our boys had a public exhibition. Company from town, Beverly, Marblehead, and Watertown.

Jan. 24, *Mon*. Visited over the river, nineteen families.

Jan. 31, *Mon*. Mr. Wadsworth and Captain Ingolson dined here. Captain Ingolson brought a French boy to live with me, and learn English.

Feb. 23, *Wed*. Went to Salem and dined with Captain Peele. Mr. Hall acquainted me of my being elected a member of the Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, on the 21st of January last.

Mar. 10, *Thurs*. Went to Newbury. Borrowed Linnæus of Dr. Killum.

Mar. 14–23. Very busy finishing my botanical papers.

May 2, *Mon*. Mr. Prof. Pearson measuring Mount Holyoke. Went with him.

May 11, *Wed*. Ordination in lower parish, Beverly. Mr. McKeen ordained.

May 24, *Tues*. Went into Boston, and attended the meeting of the Academy.

May 25, *Wed*. Election. His Excellency, Mr. Bowdoin, chosen Governor. I had the honor to dine with his Excellency.

June 11, *Sat.* Received an official letter from Dr. Appleton, Secretary of the Medical Society.

June 13, *Mon.* Wrote to the Governor, and to Dr. Appleton, Boston.

[This correspondence is here subjoined.]

BOSTON, 3*d June*, 1785.

Rev'd Sir:—It is with the greatest pleasure that I improve this first oppo. to forward you an extract from the Records of the Massa. Meda. Soc'y, together with a printed Copy of the Act of Incorporation.

Your answer of acceptance will give pleasure to the Soc'y, and in particular to,

Sir, your very humble serv.,
N. W. APPLETON,
South Latin School Street.

REV. M. CUTLER.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, in Boston, 1st June, 1785.

Upon the ballots being taken, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich, was declared duly elected an honorary Fellow.

A true copy from the Records. Attest:

N. W. APPLETON, *Rec'g Sec'y.*

[To which Mr. Cutler replied:]

IPSWICH, *June* 13, 1785.

Sir:—I have received your letter inclosing an extract from the Records of the Massa. Medical Society, by which I am informed that the Society has been pleased to elect me an honorary Fellow. I very sensibly feel the honor conferred upon me by so learned and respectable a Society. This mark of attention is the more flattering, as the Medical Art is not my profession. Please to express my acceptance and my warmest acknowledgments to the Society for the honor they have done me.

Should it be in my power to contribute in the smallest degree toward promoting so laudable an institution, it will give me the highest pleasure.

I am, with sentiments of esteem and respect,

Sir, your most humble serv't,
M. CUTLER.

DOCT. N. W. APPLETON.

June 14, *Tues.* Mr. Eliot here from Boston, and dined. He brought an extract of a letter from Dr. Stokes, in England, a famous botanist, requesting a correspondence with me.

June 19, *Lord's Day.* My throat exceedingly sore. Preached, though with great difficulty.

June 23, *Thurs.* Count Castiglioni called upon me, a gentleman from Milan, in Italy. He had letters from Dr. Dexter,* Boston; Dr. Holyoke and Mr. Barnard, Salem. He is an accomplished botanist, and is traveling to examine the productions of America. He and his servant lodged with us.

June 24, *Fri.* We made a fine collection of vegetables. Received much advantage from his knowledge. At 4 o'clock P. M. he set out for Newbury.

July 24, *Lord's Day.* (At Killingly.) Preached for Mr. Atkins. Found myself much better. My old friend Mr. Samuel Danielson, at meeting.

July 25, *Mon.* Mr. Atkins rode with me over to Pomfret. Visited Mr. Putnam. Spent the afternoon very agreeably with Colonel Grosvenor, my old classmate, and with my kinsman, Colonel Clark.

July 27, *Wed.* (At Providence.) Waited on Mr. West, Mr. Brown, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Manning. Visited College. Mr. Brown was very complaisant, and went with me. I dined with him, and was much pleased with his family.

July 30, *Sat.* Put my horse to pasture at Falmouth, and went over to the vineyard, at Holmes' Hole.

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*The letter from Dr. Dexter is as follows:

BOSTON, *June* 20, 1785.

MR. CUTLER.

Sir:—Permit me to introduce to your friendship and acquaintance the Bearer, Count Castiglioni. He is an Italian Gentleman from Milan. His object in this Country is to examine into the Natural History of it.

I have mentioned you as a gentleman better acquainted with Botany, etc., and can give him more information, than any other person in the Country. You will find him a true disciple of Linnæus. I must therefore beg leave to introduce him to your particular attention, as his stay must be short. And you will much oblige,

Your friend and humble servant,

AARON DEXTER.

July 31, *Lord's Day*. Preached for Mr. Thaxter, at Edgartown. Judge Hicks there.

Aug. 1, *Mon*. Visited my old acquaintances, and settled my old accounts.

Aug. 2, *Tues*. Mr. Thaxter went with me up the island. Mr. Morse, of Tisbury, joined us. Dined at Mr. Robert Allen's. After dinner we, with Mr. Benja. Basset, went to Gay Head. Found the fossils very curious; collected some specimens.

Aug. 4, *Thurs*. Finished my business at Edgartown, and hired a boat to carry me to Falmouth. Got my horse, and rode to Fish's and lodged.

Aug. 5, *Fri*. Set out early and breakfasted with General Freeman, at Sandwich.

Aug. 6, *Sat*. Lodged at Hingham, and breakfasted at Dr. Tufts', at Weymouth. Called on Mr. Cranch, and examined the library of the Hon. John Adams, Esq., in order to find Linnæus, but could not. Rode to Mr. Everett's and put up, on account of the rain.

Aug. 7, *Lord's Day*. Preached for Mr. Everett.

Aug. 8, *Mon*. Came home and found all well. Made a large botanical collection in my journey.

Aug. 9–13. Preparing papers for the Volume of Transactions in the press. Examined plants.

Aug. 24, *Wed*. Went to Cambridge, and attended the meeting of the Academy. President Bowdoin absent. Dined at Mr. Wigglesworth's.

Aug. 26, 27. Busy preparing papers for the Volume of Memoirs.

Sept. 2, *Fri*. Went to Boston to meet with a Committee of the Academy for forming a plan for promoting agriculture. Delivered my Botanical Paper * to the printer. Dined with Mr. Guild, and came home.

Sept. 2, *Tues*. Association convened here. Present: Mr. Swain, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Prince, and Mr. Parsons, of the

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* This paper was published in the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. It is entitled "An Account of some of the Vegetable Productions Naturally Growing in this Part of America, Botanically Arranged."

Association, and Mr. Forbes and Mr. Fuller, who joined the Association. Mr. Forbes preached. Also here: Mrs. Forbes, Mrs. Whitney, Mr. Sargent, Mr. Quarles, Dr. Whitney, and Dr. Fisher.

Sept. 28, *Wed.* Dr. Wales, Professor of Divinity at New Haven, and Mr. Chanick, a tutor of that college, here.

Oct. 3–15. Exceedingly engaged in transcribing my Botanical Paper for the press.

Oct. 18, *Tues.* Finished transcribing my Botanical Paper.

Oct. 24, 25. Very busy in preparing my boys for an exhibition.

Oct. 26, *Wed.* This evening we had an exhibition. Mr. Grafton and Mr. Sasa dined with us. Considerable company in the evening from Salem, Cape Ann, and Newbury Port. The exhibition well received.

Oct. 27, *Thurs.* Boys went home. Went to Salem and carried Frank Lowell* and Dick Derby. Dined at Mr. Derby's.

Nov. 9, *Wed.* Meeting of the Academy at Cambridge.

Nov. 10, *Thurs.* Went from Cambridge to Boston. Dined with his excellency, the Governor.

Nov. 11, *Fri.* In the evening attended Dr. Moyes'(?) Philosophical lecture at Faneuil Hall. Ticket, three shillings. His subject, the anatomy of plants, tolerably agreeable.

Nov. 15, *Tues.* Wrote to Mr. Belknap.

Nov. 18, *Fri.* Wrote to Dr. Dexter and Dr. Warren.

Dec. 6, *Tues.* Bought five acres of woodland, marked the bounds, and paid for it.

Dec. 8, *Thurs.* Preparing a table of errata for the Volume of Memoirs.

Dec. 9, *Fri.* Dr. Fisher here. Finished the errata to send to the printer. Sat up until 5 o'clock at night.

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* "My brother, the late Francis C. Lowell, who gave the first impulse to cotton manufactures in this country, and of whose mathematical calculations whilst engaged in bringing to perfection the 'double speeder,' the late Mr. Bowditch said he did not suppose that there was any one in this country who could have made them but himself, for whom, too, I may add, the city of Lowell was named, spent several years of his early life, before he entered college, under the tuition of Dr. Cutler."—*MS. Letter of Chas. Lowell.*

Dec. 16, *Fri.* We went to Beverly and dined with Captain Brown. Received some gooseberry bushes from Mr. Manning, President of the College at Providence, and also from Captain Brown some pear, plum, cherry, and peach trees, which came from New York, and some foreign grapes.

[The interleaved Almanac for 1786 is lost. Two remarkable events occurred in Massachusetts this year. These were the formation of the Ohio Company, for the purpose of purchasing lands for a western colony, and the culmination of the financial distress of the people in Shay's Rebellion.]

CHAPTER IV.

Policy of Congress in Regard to Vacant Territory—Reasons for the Organization of the Ohio Company of Associates—Support Given by General Washington to the Plan—Pickering's Scheme—Officers' Petition—Correspondence.

Thus far the reader has been presented with an autobiography, written, however, without the most distant expectation that it would ever reach the public eye. It may be none the less valuable on that account. It is not only a faithful photograph of the personal characteristics of Dr. Cutler, but presents a most interesting and instructive view of public affairs, and of the social life, as well as labors, of that influential body of men, known as the New England or Puritan Clergy. The names of his associates mentioned in these daily records are known, not only at home, but abroad. Their personal influence was felt in that most important crisis from 1766 to 1787. Not only were they faithful instructors in religion, but also intelligent friends of their country in its great struggle for independence. In both church and state they were most efficient founders and builders. The extent and frequency of their social intercourse is worthy of note. Those plans of frequent exchanges, quarterly fasts, and other occasions that brought them together, served to strengthen and extend their influence. They were a power in the land, and their power was always exerted in the line of the highest attainments of a Christian civilization.

Up to this point Dr. Cutler had shared the labors of the times with his brethren; but now, at the age of forty-five, he enters upon one of those peculiar episodes of human life that would seem like detaching a well-regulated planet from its orbit, and sending it off on an errand fraught with immensely greater results than any that could have been accomplished in its ordinary course. He did not ignore or abandon his chosen profession, or slacken his pursuit of the higher branches of knowledge. He rather brought to bear upon his new enterprise all the acquisitions, experience, sound judgment, and elevated aspirations of his life hitherto. He therefore entered upon the Ohio business with a zeal and enthusiasm that called forth all his energies. Most fortunately for correct history, he preserved, in the form of correspondence and daily journals, the principal facts. It is proposed to present these to the reader just as they have come to hand. Although there is thus given a basis for a correct understanding of the whole subject, there are some contemporaneous matters that require careful consideration in connection with his own records.

It is now well understood that the passage, on July 13, 1787, of the celebrated ordinance of that date, was closely connected with Dr. Cutler's negotiations at the same time with Congress for the purchase of a large tract of western land upon which to organize the first permanent occupation of the North-western Territory. That his personal influence was direct and positive in bringing about these results will sufficiently appear by a perusal of his journal, given in chapters 6 and 7 of this volume. In that journal he assigns several reasons why he pursued a line of negotiation that in the end accomplished his objects.

The ordinance for the government of the North-west Territory was the first subject to receive his attention; then came the land purchase, though with him they were essentially one transaction. First, he would know beforehand the *law*, then terms for the *land*—all this for the simple, common-sense reason that at that time he expected to make his own future home on that distant soil, and he had, before he undertook the negotiation with Congress, prevailed upon more than a hundred of his neighbors and personal friends to cast in their lot with him. Moreover, he was acting for associates who represented that army by whose sacrifice and blood the western country had been conquered from the British crown, and who were demanding through him of Congress their bounties, with the additional privilege of converting their "final-settlement certificates" into these lands. These associates were, like himself, New England men, firmly and intelligently attached to their own distinctive principles and social habits. It was therefore incumbent on him as their agent to secure both law and land that would correspond with their wishes. It must also be borne in mind that the organization of a "new state" was a distinctive and leading feature in the scheme he was laboring to promote. The scheme was a broad and comprehensive one. Its main purposes had been well considered by the associates who constituted him their agent. They left it to him to mature more carefully the principles and details when he should come to deal directly with that Congress which exercised a rightful sovereignty over the whole subject.

By referring to Dr. Cutler's journal, chapter 7, it will be observed that he relied upon several important considerations as influencing Congress to grant substantially all that he asked for on his own terms. These considerations, claiming properly some examination from sources outside of the bare mention that he accords to them, may be enumerated as follows:

1. The general line of policy adopted by Congress in regard to the North-west Territory.
2. The value of a large sale of western or "vacant" territory as a means of "paying the public debt."
3. The importance of a systematic occupation of the west by a large colony of industrious men.
4. The value to the United States of having that colony composed of men strongly attached to the "Federal Union."
5. The adverse currents with which Dr. Cutler was obliged to contend.
6. The protection that would be given by the particular location he selected to the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania.
7. The favorable influence exerted by General Washington in giving encouragement to the settlement of the Ohio Valley, though not mentioned in Dr. Cutler's journal, was an important element at the time.

In regard to the first point under consideration, we find that the attention of the Continental Congress was, very soon after its organization, called to this subject of the "crown lands" or "vacant territory." In importance its acquisition, by conquest from the British crown, stood only second to that of political independence. On the 16th day of September, 1776, Congress offered the following bounties in land to those who would enlist for the war—to a colonel, 500 acres; lieutenant-colonel, 450 acres; major, 400 acres; captain, 300 acres; lieutenant, 200 acres; ensign, 150 acres; private, 100 acres. Then, on 12 August, 1780, 850 acres were offered to brigadier-generals and 1,100 to major-generals. Liberal offers of land had before this been made, by a resolution of August 27, 1776, to foreign officers and others who should leave the enemy's service and enlist in the Continental line. When these offers were made, the United States did not own an acre of land, and all the vacant territory was covered by claims of title by several of the states. The important task was thus imposed upon Congress of quieting all these claims, so that, in case of successful conquest, all the back country might be regarded as common property, to be disposed of for the common benefit; ultimately, to be organized into independent, republican states, and to become parts of the confederacy.

The attitude of Maryland and New Jersey upon this subject was very positive, indeed so much so, that Maryland refused to enter the confederacy until these claims were adjusted. All the states, except Maryland, accepted the articles of confederation as early as May 21, 1779. On the 12th of February, 1781, New York made her deed of cession, and Maryland then entered the confederacy, but with a distinct protest on the subject in these words: "And it is hereby declared that, by acceding to the said confederation, this state doth not relinquish, or intend to relinquish, any right or interest she hath with the other united or confederated states to the back country."

It was undoubtedly expected that Virginia and all other states would yield their claims. The Journals of Congress present a most interesting series of urgent resolutions and recommendations for completely quieting the titles and vesting both ownership and sovereignty in the United States. The Continental Congress, in dealing with this important feature of western history, showed an earnest and patriotic disposition and determination to promote harmony and secure future union by timely concessions and by a paramount regard for the general welfare. All this was happily accomplished, and Congress then gave attention to the measures for disposing of the vast area of real estate over which it could exercise dominion after the treaty of 1783.

There were two aspects of this important duty; one was the governmental, the other its value as property to be disposed of for common benefit. In both these respects there can be traced through all their legislative acts an earnest and patriotic desire to reconcile differences, accommodate interests, and promote general harmony. It was the occasion for maturing and applying upon the vast interior a system of land surveys, locations, and entries, securing perfect titles with least possible expense, such as had never before been attempted on such a magnificent scale. In devising and maturing this system, the preconceived ideas and practices prevailing in New England, on the one hand, and in the Southern States on the other, came into close contact. The southern plan of entering and acquiring title to public lands favored acquisition of large and choice tracts of land by those only who could bear the expense of surveys. It was also attended by great confusion of titles, as each purchaser, on payment of a trifle (two cents per acre), could locate his warrant on any land not already surveyed. This resulted in lapping and over-lapping, the only lines being those run by each individual proprietor. By the New England plan the lines were run and established by governmental authority, and titles came from grants made, each one of which was defined by metes and bounds marked out by surveyors, who acted for the government, under oath. Not only the rights of separate ownership were thus protected, but the civil, religious, and educational wants of the population were carefully guarded and accommodated. As an illustration of the New England plan: "June 17, 1732, the General Court of Massachusetts granted six miles square for a township, to be laid out in a regular form by a surveyor and chainmen, under oath. The said lands by them to be settled on the following conditions: That they within the space of five years settle and have on the spot sixty families (the settlers to be none but natives of New England); each settler to build a good and convenient dwelling-house of one story high, eighteen feet square at least; and clear and bring to, four acres fit for improvement, and three acres more well stocked with English grass; and also lay out three shares in the town (each share to be one sixty-third part of the town), one share for the first settled minister, one for the ministry, one for the school; and also build a convenient Meeting House, and settle a learned and orthodox minister within the time aforesaid." (*Hist. of Hardwicke*, p. 23.) This was for a company of sixty neighbors, who proposed to settle a new tract of country together. "On Feb. 21, 1732, they voted unanimously that the remaining lands belonging to the partners be lotted out by a committee, in such quantities that each proprietor have three lots, and so sorted as that in the draft each person may have a just and equal share." This example gives the drift of the New England idea; that the soil should pass into the hands of its future cultivators, with perfect title, and so that "each person may have a just and equal share."

In this way these little republics—townships—of convenient size were organized, placing the civil and political power in the hands of those who own the country, at the same time making some provision for moral and educational wants.

So far as retaining control until definite boundaries were marked out on visible objects, and disposing of titles only in accordance with governmental surveys, the New England plan seems to have been adopted very early by Congress, but it required long discussions and efforts to agree upon details. The first ordinance "for ascertaining the mode of disposing of the western land" that was reported, required townships 10 miles square, each mile to be 6,086 feet in length, thus dividing the township into 100 lots of 850 acres each. The next report, April 26, 1785, proposed seven miles square, with sections of 640 acres each, or 49 in a township; of these one section, No. 16, was to be set apart for school purposes, and one section, 29, for support of religion. This latter provision was stricken out by a singular expression of the legislative will. Of the twenty-three members present seventeen voted to retain, and six to strike out; but the votes being by states the rules gave the small minority the control over that question, and the section for support of religion was stricken out of the bill. The next, and last report, adopted May 20, 1785, fixed the system substantially as it has remained ever since; that is, surveys to be made by government in ranges, towns, and sections, townships six miles square, divided into 36 sections of 640 acres each; titles to be obtained only by entry in a government office of a tract surveyed and recorded. The provision for section 16 has been retained. All this is substantially the New England theory. At first there was much diversity of opinion as to price, the amount that a purchaser might buy, and evident leaning to the policy of a close and compact settlement of the new country beginning with the eastern ranges and not allowing any squatter or pre-emption rights.

As evidence of the diversity of opinion then prevailing upon this question of public policy, the following extracts from letters coming from influential sources are worthy of notice:

General Washington, in a letter to Colonel Grayson, of Virginia, dated Aug. 22, 1785, says: "No doubt but the information of Congress from the back country is better than mine respecting the operation of the ordinance (passed May 20, 1785, for disposing of western lands); but I have understood from some sensible people that besides running they know not where to purchase, the lands are of so versatile a nature that, to the end of time, they will not by those acquainted therewith be purchased either in townships or square miles." July 26, 1786, he writes to Colonel Grayson: "I wish very sincerely that the land ordinance may answer the expectations of Congress. I had, and still have, my doubts of the utility of the plan, but pray devoutly that they may never be realized, as I am desirous of seeing it a productive branch of revenue." In a letter to the Countess of Huntington, dated June 30, 1785, he says: "Having had the inclosed resolutions and ordinances sent to me by the President himself, as the result of the long and painful deliberations on the mode of disposing of the western lands, I will delay no longer to express my concern that your ladyship's benevolent views are not better seconded." The letter to the Countess of Huntington was in response to an application made by her, and presented to Congress by Washington, for lands to enable her to send a colony of benevolent and religious people to locate near the Indian tribes and labor for their benefit. The "long and painful deliberation on the mode of disposing of western lands" was closed by the passage of the ordinance of May 20, 1785, but it is quite evident that the plan adopted did not meet with Washington's full approval. His views were undoubtedly more in accordance with the Virginia system. Madison, in his letter to Washington, April 16, 1787, refers to the prevailing differences of opinion upon this important question. (*Sparks*, vol. 1, p. 519). He says: "Between five and six hundred thousand acres have been surveyed and are ready for sale." These were seven ranges, of which at that time only a small amount had found purchasers. "The mode of sale, however," he continues, "will probably be a source of different opinions, as will the mode of disposing of the unsurveyed residue. The eastern gentlemen remain attached to the system of townships. Many others are equally strenuous for indiscriminate locations. The states which have lands of their own for sale are suspected of not being hearty in bringing the federal lands into market."

This statement of Madison discloses two important facts connected with the western territory and its settlement at that time. One is, that although the township plan of surveys had been adopted May 20, 1785, the controversy between that system, as the favorite of the eastern gentlemen, and that of "indiscriminate locations," the Virginia plan, was still kept up. The scheme of townships has in the end prevailed, and those miniature republics, covering the vast interior of the Great Republic, are like the roots of the giant oak, striking down deep into the soil, giving life, strength, and perpetuity to the rightful authority of the people in conducting their political affairs. The other fact stated is, that some of the states were not hearty in bringing the federal lands into market. This affords a key to the line of negotiations pursued by Dr. Cutler. He went to the states that were willing to sell.

As further evidence of the prevailing difference of opinion, Mr. King writes to Colonel Pickering, May 30, 1785: "I transmit you a copy of the land ordinance as it finally passed. All parties who have advocated particular modes of disposing of the western territory have relinquished some things they wished, and the ordinance is a compromise of opinions." Colonel Grayson, in a letter to Pickering, dated New York, April 27, 1785, gives the following interesting statement of the tone and temper of the discussion then in progress upon this subject. He says: "Since my arrival here, I have been busily engaged in assisting about passing an ordinance for the disposal of the western territory. I think there has been as much said and written about it as would fill forty volumes; and yet we seem far from a conclusion, so difficult it is to form any system which will suit our complex government, and when the interests of the component parts are supposed to be so different. I made a motion three days ago which has nearly divided the Continent (meaning Congress) into equal moities. The object of it was to double the quantity of surveying, and to sell the lands in townships and sections alternately. This I did under the impression that it would accommodate both the eastern and southern states. However, this has been strongly objected to, and both sides adhere to their opinions; so that here we stick, without any movement, either retrograde or progressive."

It is evident that there were two points of controversy. one, the systematic surveys by government, as opposed to "indiscriminate location;" the other was the question of selling in large or small tracts. The New England theory of governmental surveys prevailed; but there was a decided leaning toward selling in large tracts and in compact and continuous locations. This probably favored Dr. Cutler in his application for a large tract, to be settled or colonized in an organized manner. It was in this way that adjacent lands not sold would be advanced in value.

In conducting his negotiations with Congress, Dr. Cutler makes the following entry in his journal, July 21, 1787: "At length I told them that if Congress would accede to my proposal, I would extend the purchase from the tenth township (of the seventh range) from the Ohio and to the Scioto, inclusively, by which Congress would pay more than four millions of the public debt." The last clause of this sentence brings before us the second point mentioned above as requiring consideration. Paying the public debt by means of these vacant lands had long been a cherished plan of Congress. Their records show that, in urging upon the states to relinquish such claims as they might have to the western territory, the motive is constantly pressed that this property should be used as a support to the "public credit" and for the "payment of the debt." It was at that time their only reliable resource. They could not levy or collect a dollar by taxation of any kind. The lands had no value, unless it could be imparted to them by an actual sale. The effort to obtain money from sales in the seven ranges had not succeeded. Here, however, was a proposition to pay off the most sacred of national obligations—a debt representing the services and sacrifices of that army to whose valor the nation owed its life. Under these circumstances, the motive was one of peculiar urgency; and its use by the agent of the associates representing the army was legitimate and undoubtedly contributed to his success.

This theory of making wild lands a basis of revenue and a support to the finances of government was really a new departure in that direction. It had not been the policy of the British Government or of the Colonies to derive any considerable revenue from this source. In his instructions to Governor Tryon, of the New York Colony, dated February 3, 1774, Earl Dartmouth fixes the following limit to public sales of land, after surveys and advertisements had been made: "That no lot is put up to such sale at a less price than six pence per acre, and all such lots are to be sold subject to a reservation to us, our heirs and successors, of an annual quit-rent of one-half penny sterling per acre."

The Virginia plan required two cents per acre to be paid before locating a tract. These amounts could hardly be regarded as more than covering the expenses of a land office. That extensive and fertile region embraced in Kentucky and West Tennessee yielded no financial support to either state or national governments, except something in the way of military bounties. In fact, the pioneer to Kentucky richly earned his lands. The bold and hardy adventurer into that beautiful country "came, saw, and conquered," each one for himself. The only aid supplied by the parent state, Virginia, to her truant child was five hundred pounds of gunpowder, delivered at Pittsburg, and then guarded down the Ohio River by personal daring and enterprise, and distributed among the early pioneers.*

Congress, however, early entered upon the policy of treating the vacant lands, the back country, as property to be used for the "common benefit" and as a support to "public credit." This subject received the attention of a grand committee, composed of one member from each state, appointed July 31, 1782, consisting of Messrs. Gilman, Jackson, Howell, Dyer, Duane, Witherspoon, Clymer, McKean, Hanna, Lee, Williamson, Rutledge, and Telfair. On the 5th of September, 1782, this committee reported the following proposition: "That it is their opinion that the western lands, if ceded to the United States, might contribute toward a fund for paying the debts of the states." On motion of Mr. Witherspoon, this proposition was changed to read: "it would be an important fund for the discharge of the national debt." This substitution of "national debt" in place of the debts of the states indicates an early tendency to assert national sovereignty over this vast common property.

Another grand committee report, April 5, 1784: "That Congress still consider vacant territory as a capital resource. That this, too, is the time when our confederacy, with all the territory included within it, should assume its ultimate and permanent form."

This subject is brought forward in numerous other instances, and in a way that fully indicates the importance attached to it.

It is thus quite evident that Dr. Cutler was acting in entire harmony with a line of public policy that had been plainly marked out, when he offered to provide for about one-tenth of the public debt out of property that was at the time absolutely worthless to the government.

Next in importance to a system of surveys was a "compact and progressive" settlement of the new country. By governmental surveys, instead of indiscriminate location, not only the value of the land as property, but its occupation also, was held under the control of government. Indeed, it may be claimed that, without this land surveying system, matured at the right time, and urged into execution by the right men, the Virginia or southern plan would, in all probability, have prevailed all over the west. That plan admitted of unlimited locations, made by each purchaser for himself at a merely nominal price. It was a plan without a system, involving the uncertainty of titles, as well as practical monopoly of the choicest lands in the hands of the few who had the ability to make early and large entries. As a curse upon the soil it might have proved second only to slavery, and would probably have opened the way for that system of labor.

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* Biog. of Geo. Rogers Clark.

Following this organized system of surveys, we find the policy was to discourage the squatter plan, and encourage "compact" settling. By the prevailing custom of those pioneer days, the progress of western settlement was the result of individual enterprise. The brave and hardy pioneer ventured alone, or with a few neighbors, to make selections of land, establish a "tomahawk right," and patiently to endure the perils and hardships of the savage wilderness. While the good results to civilization of such efforts must not be overlooked nor undervalued, it still required a more thoroughly organized effort to plant and nourish on that virgin soil those principles of civil and religious liberty that should forever prove the basis of future government and social well-being. Had it been left solely to the individual and isolated adventurer to carry forward the occupation of the great valley, the foundations of society might have been loosely laid, and the results far different from that which now makes the territory covered by the Ordinance of '87 the very keystone and support of the nation.

It is at this most interesting crisis of national expansion, that the Ohio Company of Associates undertook and performed a service which has caused "the wilderness to bud and blossom as the rose." They were the first to conceive and execute on a large scale a compact and systematic settlement of the country.

Dr. Cutler entered fully into this policy, and urges it upon Congress as a motive for acceding to his plans of purchase.

We find the following entry in his journal: "It was our intention to secure a large and immediate settlement of the country by the most robust and industrious people in America; and that it would be made systematically, which must instantly advance the value of federal lands, and prove an important acquisition to Congress." He says again: "Mr. Osgood highly approved of our plan, and told me he thought it the best formed in America. He dwelt much on the advantage of system in a new settlement; said system had never before been attempted." This consideration thus urged at the time upon Congress corresponds with views that evidently prevailed in regard to the occupation of the north-west. Congress, in various measures proposed, both for the disposing of lands and government of the territory, had indicated a policy of separate states compactly bounded, and of sales proceeding continuously from the eastern limits westward.

General Washington expresses what was undoubtedly a prevailing opinion on this subject in the following extracts from his letters. In a letter to Hugh Williamson, March 15, 1785, he says: "Two things seem naturally to result from this agreement [treaty] with the western Indians, the terms on which western lands are to be disposed of, and the mode of settling there. The first, in my opinion, ought not to be delayed; the second ought not to be too diffusive. Compact and progressive settling will give strength to the Union, admit law and good government, and federal aids at an early period. Sparse settlements in several new states, or a large territory for one, will have the directly contrary effects; and, whilst it opens a large field to land jobbers and speculators, who are prowling about like wolves in many shapes, will injure the real occupiers and useful citizens, and consequently the public interest. If a tract of country, of convenient size for a new state, contiguous to the present settlements on the Ohio, is laid off, and a certain proportion of the land seated, or at least granted, before any other state is marked out, and no land is to be obtained beyond the limits of it, we shall, I conceive, reap great political advantages from such a line of conduct; and, without it, we may be involved in much trouble and perplexity before any new state will be well organized, or contribute any thing to the support of the Union."

In a letter to James Duane, dated September 7, 1783, he says: "To suffer a wide-extended country to be overrun with land jobbers, speculators, and monopolizers, or even scattered settlers, is, in my opinion, inconsistent with that wisdom and policy which our true interest dictates, or which an enlightened people ought to adopt; and besides, it is pregnant of disputes, both with the savages and among ourselves, the evils of which are easier to be conceived than described. . . . Unless some such measures as I have taken the liberty of suggesting are speedily adopted, one of two capital errors will inevitably result and is near at hand; either the settling, or rather overspreading, of the western country will take place by a parcel of banditti, who will bid defiance to all authority, while they are skimming and disposing of the cream of the country, at the expense of many suffering officers and soldiers who have fought and bled to obtain it, and are now waiting the decision of Congress to point them to the promised reward of their past dangers and toils; or a renewal of hostilities with the Indians, brought about, more than probably, by this very means."

The view of this subject thus presented by Washington was undoubtedly the one that controlled the action of Congress at that time. He says: "Compact and progressive settling will give strength to the Union, admit law and good government, and federal aids, at an early period." Dr. Cutler's negotiations were based upon these ideas. The Union, law, good government, federal aid, were precisely the motives he urged upon Congress, all of which were to be secured by "compact and progressive settling." To this he could add the assurance that this important line of public policy should be applied by the "most robust and industrious people in America." This coincidence of views, as entertained by General Washington and the agent of his old comrades, is worthy of notice, and is a striking proof of the theory that there had been a continued interchange of views, in regard to the permanent occupation of the Ohio valley, between the Commander-in-chief and his military associates. This view of the matter will be presented more distinctly farther on in the narrative of the preliminary conditions that existed at the time Dr. Cutler entered upon his negotiations with Congress on behalf of the Ohio Company.

The policy of Congress on this subject is indicated in the resolution of October 3, 1787, "to raise 700 troops to protect the settlers on the public lands from the depredations of the Indians, to facilitate the surveying and selling of said lands, in order to reduce the public debt, and to prevent all unwarrantable intrusions thereon."

The following statement, made by Mr. Levi Munsell in a letter to Ephraim Cutler, dated Fletcher, Miami County, Ohio, August 17, 1842, shows that the policy of preventing "unwarrantable intrusions" upon the public lands was most rigidly enforced. Mr. Munsell was one of the "700 troops" mentioned in the above resolution of Congress. In describing the state of the western country at that time, he says: "There was not any settlement on the western bank of the Ohio from Pittsburg to the Mississippi; only a few hunters just below the falls, or what is called Clark's grant, and a few squatters in the neighborhood where Steubenville is now. They were ordered to move immediately off the public lands. They did not, and still refused to quit. They were determined to hold the lands by what is called 'tomahawk improvements,' as many had in Pennsylvania and Virginia. About one hundred men were sent to burn them out. There were about thirty hunters with their rifles paraded on the bank of the river, with every appearance of an intention to defend themselves. Our troops landed and marched up to them, and told them if they wanted to save any thing that was in their cabins they might have so many minutes to do it in. They moved what little plunder they had out of them, and the cabins were filled with rails and other combustibles, and the troops set fire to them and burnt them up. There were some few that were not discovered at this time, that lay a little back from the river, which attempted to raise some corn that year, but it was all destroyed and the cabins burnt."

This marks a transition from "tomahawk" to systematic, permanent improvement. A motive back of it all was that which is expressed in the resolution—to so manage this vast and recently acquired property as to "reduce the public debt."

With these important elements Dr. Cutler found it necessary to deal, and to satisfy the prevailing demand for a revenue from land and for compact and well organized settlement.

Another motive urged upon Congress is found stated in his journal in these words: "The uneasiness of the Kentucky people with respect to the Mississippi was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union, if a war with Spain took place, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable; and most certainly a systematic settlement in that country, conducted by men strongly attached to the federal government, and composed of young, robust, hardy, and active laborers, who had no ideas of any other than the federal government, I conceive to be an object worthy of some attention." To understand the strength and value of this appeal, it is necessary to go back and look at the situation as it then existed. It was briefly and pointedly stated by General Washington in his letter to Governor Harrison, of Virginia, under date of October 10, 1784. He says: "I need not remark to you, sir, that the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones, too; nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds, especially that part of it which lies immediately west of us, with the middle states. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon these people? How entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right, and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling-blocks in their way, as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? What, when they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive (from the emigration of foreigners, who will have no particular predilection toward us, as well as from the removal of our own citizens), will be the consequence of their having formed close connections with both or either of those powers, in a commercial way? It needs not, in my opinion, the gift of prophecy to foretell. The western states (I speak now from my own observation) stand, as it were, upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way."

Washington proceeds at length in this letter to urge the importance of opening lines of internal improvement between the seaboard and the Ohio valley, as the means of supplying that "cement of interest" which would bind the states to be formed in the great central valley by "indissoluble bonds to the Union." This presents an interesting coincidence of views as between Washington and the agent of the Ohio Company; the one striving to unite the west to the east by commercial interests, the other by throwing in at the right time and at the strategic point a systematic occupation of the country by those who were "strongly attached to the federal government."

It is historically true that at that time, and subsequently, the population west of the mountains did "stand on a pivot." It is also true that Governor St. Clair, supported by the very men forming the pioneer force which occupied the country as a result of Dr. Cutler's successful negotiation with Congress, did contribute largely to turn that pivot in the right direction.

An interesting correspondence took place in 1790, between General Rufus Putnam and Fisher Ames, commencing with the following preface from the former to the latter: "In conversation with you at New York in July last, you made this a question: 'Can we retain the western country within the government of the United States, and, if we can, of what use will it be to them?'" General Putnam then proceeds, in a long, closely written letter, to argue in favor of the practicability and value of retaining the West as part of the Union. Ames was a decided friend to the associates of the Ohio Company, and aided them subsequently very materially in settling their affairs with Congress; but his question to Putnam reflected the pivotal condition at that time of the most important matter that ever engaged the attention of the American people.

Another element of the situation as presented by Dr. Cutler is found in the diversity of interests and views then prevailing among the old thirteen states, who had the control and disposal of this common property. The eastern states, especially Massachusetts, were not favorably disposed to a transfer of their best population to a distant location which might in time disturb their relative weight in the Union. There were also large areas of unoccupied lands, either within the bounds of their own states, or adjacent thereto. New York had a Great West, and Massachusetts a Province of Maine.

General Putnam called the attention of Washington to this state of affairs in his letter, dated April 5, 1784. He says Massachusetts was "forming a plan for selling the eastern country; that New York was wisely inviting eastern people to settle in that state," hence the delegates could not be relied upon to prosecute the Ohio scheme. The extreme southern states may be supposed not to have been antagonistic, but less interested than the more middle states. Hence we find that when Dr. Cutler started on his visit to New York three of his letters of introduction were to members of Congress from Virginia.

There were valid reasons for his pursuing this line of introduction and negotiation. Virginia was directly interested in securing protection to her western frontier, as well as occupation of the country adjacent to that which had been set apart as bounty lands for her soldiers between the Scioto and Little Miami. In his choice of location Dr. Cutler was confined to an Ohio River frontage extending from the southern limit of the seven ranges (near the mouth of the Muskingum) to the mouth of the Scioto; otherwise he would have been thrown outside of the seven ranges, away from all lines of communication, or west of the Little Miami. In choosing the border between the Muskingum and Scioto he gave Virginia precisely what she needed, while the Symmes' location, with the Virginia bounty lands, covered the entire flank of settlements to that extent in a south-westerly direction. This deference to the interests of Virginia offers an easy and natural explanation of the fact that he placed the decision of his whole mission in the hands, not of the eastern, but of the southern states. The governmental and land ordinances, which were parts of the same transaction, were decided by five southern states out of eight voting in favor.

There is another influence of a personal nature that can be traced from its inception throughout the entire progress of this business.

That influence was exerted by the Commander-in-chief of the army in favor of this scheme of western emigration as the only practical plan of relieving the personal embarrassments resulting from the inability of Congress to pay them for their services. The nature and extent of this influence is worthy of more attention than can be accorded to it in these pages, but its relation to that transaction which decided the future of the north-west is so close that it ought not to be ignored.

No man connected with the history of our country ever exerted a greater positive influence over his associates than did General Washington over those who were his immediate and intimate companions during the great Revolutionary struggle. He had personal enemies and was the object of that jealousy which is one of the certain and most active attendants upon all military enterprises, but these fierce antagonisms in the case of Washington, while they failed to displace him from command, rallied to his support a host of true and tried friends whose sympathies and attachments were never diminished by accusation, and never lost their warmth either during the struggle, or after its close. He was a Virginian, but received from New England a most cordial support to his nomination to command. His first field of military effort was not in his native state, or surrounded by old neighbors and former associates. His first conquest was to secure the confidence and cordial support of an army, not composed of the chivalry of the south, but drawn from the furrows and shops of a plodding, industrious yeomanry, the cool-headed and sternly-disciplined Yankee. His military history was made north of the Potomac. From Boston, through Long Island, New York to Valley Forge and New Jersey, in the last encampment on the Hudson, after his victorious return from Yorktown, he was in constant contact with the army of the north, and his verdict was: "God bless the New England troops."

The fortunes of war thus threw Washington into close companionship with the very men who, at the close of the great struggle, were prepared both by their adventurous spirit and their stern necessities to seek for new homes, while they abandoned those which had been made desolate. Hence, we find that the disbanding of the army was the occasion of that organization which resulted in a systematic and permanent settlement, by the companions of Washington, on the banks of the Ohio.

It is certainly true that the leisure of camp life on the banks of the Hudson, after the struggle was virtually ended, was attended with perils as great as any that had been encountered in the active prosecution of the war. The outside pressure of England's hostility was removed at a time when there was really no internal power to regulate, cement, and build upon the newly laid foundations. The resources and credit of the Government had become exhausted. Its only power was to recommend the states to furnish money from their own scanty means. The success of the old Continental Congress was wonderful, in view of the total want of compulsory power in carrying out their plans. Their records are a series of "Recommendations" to the states; and the fact that their calls were so generally and fully responded to, is evidence of the high personal character of those who, from 1775–83, raised and maintained an army strong enough to cope with their giant enemy; and who secured the alliance of France just at the point of time when a failure in that respect would have been fatal. That old Continental Congress must have been composed of men who enjoyed the utmost confidence of their several constituencies. Up to the time of the French loan, they were compelled to "make bricks without straw." Their main supply of money came from the printer's types, and was "promises to pay." The states responded grudgingly in requisitions of sustenance and supplies for the army, but were themselves quite destitute of hard cash; and when the certain prospect of peace dawned, a general bankruptcy of the finances ensued.

Instead of recalling the patient wisdom and persevering patriotism of their Congress, and rallying to its support in its final hour of trial, a loud clamor was raised against it; and the little power it possessed was dissipated by a withdrawal of that confidence which had been its only support. Sectional bitterness, business antagonisms, local and personal jealousies, ruled the hour. Every thing tended to disintegration and weakness. The wants of the army were imperative. Their poverty and suffering went beyond the camp, and invaded their homes. They had reached the limits of human endurance. Revolt and mutiny were bold; the demand for a dictator's power was urgent, and found utterance in a direct proposition to the Commander-in-chief to assume arbitrary power and control. While these perilous influences were at work, the practical, business-like, and patriotic alternative was presented of accepting homes in the western wilderness, just secured by common effort from England, in lieu of money unattainable because of the poverty of the government. The influence of these various schemes of immigration was not a noisy power; it left but few records, and they have received but little attention. Beginning with Washington's early entries on the banks of the Ohio, then his familiar communications with his daily companions—the officers, their petition, the adoption of a land system of surveys, the ultimate action of the officers, their application to Congress, and we can trace through all these steps that quiet, persistent, and energetic spirit of honest endeavor to explore and occupy the back country which was a power more potent than any other in securing to the nation and the world the beneficent results of independence.

That Washington took a decided interest in promoting the scheme of settlement in the Ohio valley, as carried out by the Ohio Company, is evident from his early personal acquaintance with the valley, his ownership of large tracts of land in it before the war, and his efforts to colonize his lands; from his association, during the war, with the men who were active in promoting the settlement; from the assistance he rendered to the originators of the scheme, in urging upon Congress a favorable consideration of their petition; from the direct statements of the pioneers that the Ohio valley was pointed out to them by their Commander-in-chief; and from his active efforts to promote lines of commercial intercourse between the Ohio valley and the Virginia settlements.

The following evidences of Washington's personal interest in the settlement of the Ohio valley are given, showing the close connection between his plan and the line of policy adopted by the Ohio Company.

MT. VERNON, IN VIRGINIA, *July* 15, 1773.

The subscriber having obtained patents for upwards of twenty-thousand acres of land on the Ohio and Great Kanawha (ten thousand of which are situated on the banks of the first-mentioned river, between the mouths of the two Kanawhas and the remainder on the Great Kanawha, or New River, from the mouth, or near it, in one continued survey) proposes to divide the same into any sized tenements that may be desired, and lease them upon moderate terms, allowing a reasonable number of years, rent free, provided, within the space of three years from next October, three acres for every fifty contained in each lot, and proportionately for a lesser quantity, shall be cleared, fenced, and tilled; and that by or before the time limited for the commencement of the first rent, five acres for every hundred, and proportionately, as above, shall be inclosed and laid down in good grass or meadow; and, moreover, that at least fifty good fruit trees for every like quantity of land shall be planted on the premises. Any persons inclinable to settle on these lands may be more fully informed of the terms by applying to the subscriber near Alexandria, or, in his absence, to Mr. Lund Washington, and would do well in communicating their intention before the first of October next, in order that a sufficient number of lots may be laid off to answer the demand. As these lands are among the first which have been surveyed in the part of the country they lie in, it is almost needless to premise that none can exceed them in luxuriance of soil, or convenience of situation, all of them lying upon the banks either of the Ohio or Kanawha, and abounding with fine fish and wild fowls, of various kinds, as also in most excellent meadows, many of which (by the bountiful hand of nature) are, in their present state, almost fit for the scythe.

From every part of these lands water carriage is now had to Fort Pitt, by an easy communication, and from Fort Pitt, up the Monongahela to Redstone, vessels of convenient burden may and do pass continually, from whence, by means of Cheat River and other navigable branches of the Monongahela, it is thought the Portage to the Potomac may and will be reduced within the compass of a few miles to the great ease and convenience of the settlers in transporting the produce of their lands to market. To which may be added that as patents have now actually passed the seals for the several tracts here offered to be leased, settlers on them may cultivate and enjoy the lands in peace and safety, notwithstanding the unsettled counsels respecting a new colony on the Ohio; and as no sight money is to be paid for these lands, and quit-rent of two shillings sterling a hundred demanded some years hence only, it is presumable that they will always be held upon a more desirable footing than when both these are laid on with a heavy hand. And it may not be amiss further to observe, that if the scheme of establishing a new government on the Ohio, in the manner talked of, should ever be effected, these must be the most valuable lands in it, not only on account of the goodness of soil, and other advantages above enumerated, but from their contiguity to the seat of government, which more than probable will be fixed at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

In writing to General Putnam, under date of June 2, 1783, he refers to his lands as follows: "I am endeavoring to do something with the lands I now hold and have held in that country these twelve or fourteen years. The inclosed contains the terms on which I propose to lease them. . . . If you think the promulgation of the paper inclosed can be of service to others or myself, it is optional with you to do so."

Subsequently, he offered to the Countess of Huntington the use of his lands to promote her benevolent scheme in behalf of the Indians. We thus see that Washington was the first to propose a colonization scheme in the Ohio valley.

There is sufficient traditional evidence that the merits of the Ohio country was a subject of familiar discussion between the Commander and his officers during the war. This evidence comes from those of his military comrades, some of them members of his military family, who were among the early settlers at Marietta. The more tranquil period of their lives subsequent to the Indian war which was closed by Wayne's treaty in 1795, afforded them an opportunity to recall the stirring scenes through which they had passed during the Revolutionary struggle. They remembered the dark days of '77, when defeat and discouragement prevailed. Then the prospects of Britain were in the ascendant; and with their Commander-in-chief the question of surrender, with its terms, was one of frequent and earnest discussion. At that crisis, as they canvassed the situation around the gloomy camp-fires of Valley Forge, he declared that, sooner than surrender to the enemy upon any probable terms, he would retire beyond the mountains, and establish another base in the Ohio valley. The exact influence of this idea upon the minds of his followers can not be traced with historical accuracy, but it was cherished during the lives of those veterans, and imparted to younger listeners, and comes down as all traditions—"It is what I heard my father say." The following written statement of this tradition is found among the papers of Judge Ephraim Cutler, who came to Marietta in 1795, and was intimately acquainted with many of the old officers, from whom he derived it: "During the Revolutionary struggle the British established a printing-press in New York, entitled the 'Rivington Royal Gazette.' At a very dark and gloomy period of that momentous struggle, there was a very large number of papers, scattered by design, that gave an account of a treaty of subsidy made with the Emperor of Russia, which provided that a large number of Russian troops should be furnished the British for the American contest; that the troops were expected early the next season. These papers, with this information, fell into the hands of the officers of the American army, and of course became a matter of deep solicitude. At General Washington's table it became a matter of discussion. 'If this be true, and we are driven from the Atlantic border, what is to be done?' was the anxious inquiry. 'We will retire to the valley of the Ohio,' says Washington, 'and there be free.' This saying was carried by officers to soldiers, and by them to their friends, and thus a spirit of inquiry respecting Ohio was elicited."

This traditional reminiscence finds ample support in statements made by Ramsey in his *History of the American Revolution*, published in 1789. After the loss of Fort Washington, and the evacuation of New York city, the American forces were driven in hasty retreat across New Jersey, and only escaped capture by crossing to the west side of the Delaware River. The period of enlistment of the army had expired. Whole regiments returned homeward. With two or three thousand men of a retreating, half naked army, whose unshod feet had marked the frozen soil of Jersey with patriotic blood, the Commander-in-chief was compelled to look this question of retreat fairly in the face. The historian says: "General Washington about this time retreated to Newark. Having abundant reasons, from the posture of affairs, to count on the necessity of a further retreat, he asked Colonel Reed: 'Should we retreat to the back part of Pennsylvania, will the Pennsylvanians support us?' The Colonel replied: 'If the lower counties are subdued, and give up, the back counties will do the same.' The General then said: 'We must retire to Augusta County, Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety, and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war; and, if overpowered, we must cross the Allegheny Mountains.'"

From the same historian we have also another fragment of history giving further evidence of the estimation then placed upon the Ohio valley as a strategic base in the grand struggle for freedom and independence. As soon as the British cabinet became aware that France was determined to aid the United States, they dispatched messengers to this country with overtures of peace, making fair promises, and hoping at least to divide the councils and weaken the support of the cause. These overtures were met by Congress with a positive demand for an acknowledgment of independence, or an evacuation of the country, as preliminary steps to negotiation.

The following is an extract from a letter dated June 14, 1778, written as part of a private correspondence by Henry Laurens, who was then President of the old Continental Congress. He says to the King's Commissioners: "You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end. Although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts; and that from the rage of war the good people of these states shall be driven to commence a treaty *westward of yonder mountain.*"

An entry made in the records of the Ohio Company gives further testimony in this direction. At the breaking out of the Indian war, the colony at Marietta was in great danger of being destroyed. They applied to Congress for assistance, and state explicitly that they were induced to venture into the wilderness upon the representations of Washington. They use these words in their petition: "It is with pain that we have heard the cruel insinuations of those who were disaffected to the settlement of this country. It is not possible that those men who have pursued into these woods that path to an honorable competence which was pointed out to us by the Commander-in-chief of American armies, should be doomed to be the victims of a jealous policy, and to see the mangled bodies of their friends exposed—a spectacle to prevent immigration."

This language is sufficiently explicit to show the sympathy which existed between the projectors of the settlement and their old commander. The assistance rendered by him to the Ohio scheme in its earliest stages, will sufficiently appear in his letters to Congress and General Putnam on that subject.

It is a most interesting chapter in Washington's personal history that, immediately on his retirement from the command of the army, he undertook to promote a system of internal improvements upon the best and only plan then known, by which he hoped to secure the trade of the west to Virginia seaports. These efforts were in progress at the very time that the Ohio Company were maturing their plans. There is probably no direct evidence that there was any agreed concert of action, by which one party undertook to occupy and cultivate the Ohio valley, and produce from it staples of commerce, while the other party sought to afford to them their shortest and best routes to markets; but the coincidence is sufficiently striking to deserve attention, and may afford a valid reason for the decided friendship and co-operation which Dr. Cutler received from Virginia members of Congress. Whether the co-operation was designed or not, it took place. It is also evident that both parties understood the importance of the subject. Washington, in his letter to Governor Harrison and others, discusses the matter fully, while the pamphlet prepared by Dr. Cutler in regard to the western country points out the same channels for trade that Washington at the time was most earnestly promoting. Without pursuing further this line of inquiry into the primitive conditions and relations of the "back country," it is well for the reader to bear in mind the main facts as herein stated.

These historical items which constituted the materials with which Dr. Cutler was called to deal, may be summarized as follows:

1. It is evident that, next to political independence of the mother country, a complete conquest of the western territory then held by the British crown was a paramount object with the Continental Congress.

2. That all clouds upon title arising from the claims of the several states were carefully removed. This was effected by patient and persistent effort on the part of Congress, avoiding all discussions as to validity of title, but urging harmony and mutual concessions for the common good. These appeals were met with patriotic determination to remove all cause of future dissension that might arise from conflicting claims of sovereignty or ownership.

3. The first pledge of the lands was to *the army*, a pledge that the army alone could redeem by actual conquest. Along with the promised bounties to officers and soldiers, was the repeated assurance given from time to time that this vast real estate should be the basis of a *public credit*.

4. A plan of surveys was devised and applied in advance of occupation, under which perfect titles, without expense, were placed within the reach of settlers, having lines drawn and boundaries fixed with visible marks. The subdivisions were in quantity to suit the purchasers of small means, while no restriction was placed upon those who were inclined to large investments. This system has operated to place the

ownership of the great Mississippi valley in the same hands that wield the ballot, and control its political destinies. Next to its conquest, this equitable distribution of ownership may be regarded as the most important exercise of governmental power ever exerted in laying solid foundations for the American Republic. Next to this stand the laws and ordinances that were forever to remain as the basis of civil and religious liberty. Freedom, religion, morality, and knowledge, with those perfect titles, by which "every man could sit under his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make him afraid," have combined to give the western states all they enjoy of stability and prosperity.

5. The *systematic occupation* of the great valley, as distinguished from the prevailing efforts of isolated adventurers, was undertaken by that army by whose toils and endurance the conquest was effected. While it is true that a poverty resulting from a bankrupt confederacy pressed them into this service, yet a better selection could not have been made. Intelligence, experience, integrity of character, were marked characteristics of those who organized and wrought out results.

6. With the founders of the Ohio Company, the plan of a *new state*, to be taken from territory nearest adjacent to the old thirteen, was a favorite object. Its future political control was doubtless a prize for honorable aspirations, while its fertility and natural resources offered reliable prospects for competence and domestic enjoyment.

7. This movement received the cordial support of the Commander-in-chief, and to his personal influence its success is largely due.

8. Dr. Cutler well understood all these elements of personal associations and interests, and, in view of their controlling influence, went directly to the "members from the southward who favored a contract." In this effort he succeeded in planting upon the western territory, by a compact inviolable, except by common consent, "the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty." These principles at that time were cordially accepted by those with whom he had to deal, with the exception only of slavery. This was yielded to meet the

moral and social demands of a pioneer force composed of New England men who would not undertake the perils and hardships of such an enterprise unless they could carry their own ideas, policies, and social customs with them. Having placed the success of his application in the hands of the Virginia and southern members, the equivalents proposed by him were amply sufficient to secure their acquiescence in the demand for the total exclusion of slavery, and the full recognition in its stead of the "*rights* of man," with "religion, morality, and knowledge" as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in said territory.

9. At that time, the infant commerce of the Ohio valley began to demand markets and outlets. The rivers were nature's highways. Foreign control of the Gulf with its affluents invited either alliance or war to secure for inland commerce a due recognition of its necessities, rights, and interests. Washington represented the case as on a "pivot," and that "the weight of a feather might turn it any way." He wisely proposed to prepare commercial routes to the Atlantic seaboard, and thus bind them with the "cement of interest." Dr. Cutler proposed to throw into the Ohio valley, at the opportune moment and at the strategic point, a colony "conducted by men strongly attached to the federal government," and composed of "young, robust, hardy, and active laborers, who had no idea of any other than the federal government." This movement was to make "a large and immediate settlement of the most robust and industrious people in America," and to be made "systematically," as distinguished from the ordinary westward pioneer progress resulting from individual daring and effort. Along with these carefully prepared preliminaries, the appointment of governor, judge, and other officers of the new territory, guaranteed a devotion and loyalty to the federal authority that forever settled the question of secession or disunion.

10. Dr. Cutler and his associates, however, were obliged to encounter adverse currents. The eastern states were jealous of their relative weight in national affairs, and did not favor an emigration of their best people to a distant and possibly

an antagonistic locality. To them the prospect of commercial advantages was very remote, and although the eastern states may not have been openly hostile, it was only those who sympathized with such an enterprise as the Ohio Company who would give active co-operation. Hence we find that General Putnam told Washington that he could not depend on his own representative in Congress, and Dr. Cutler distrusted Mr. Dane, his personal friend and neighbor. These adverse influences drove him to a quarter where he found the way opened by friendly personal relations and local interests.

As a final result of Dr. Cutler's labors as agent for his associates, New England ideas, policies, and industrial customs were transferred to the western territory; but it was done mainly through the friendly co-operation and support of Virginia and the southern states.

11. This systematic occupation of the heart of the Great Republic, originating with its conquerors, the army, and carried forward step by step under most enlightened direction, marks as distinctively the landing at Marietta on the seventh of April, 1788, of the founders of the central empire as the landing at Plymouth or Jamestown set the historical landmarks of civilization on the Atlantic seaboard.

This inquiry leads to the close of the military struggle, to the final reduction of the army at New Windsor, and presents the peculiar difficulties and embarrassments arising from a lack of any sufficient provision by Congress for the payment of an army who had won the prize first staked upon the great issue of "life, fortune, and sacred honor." Life and fortune had been freely spent. Honor belonged to the victors; but it did not clothe or feed their families, did not return the best years of their lives, or secure them from future want. They accepted final certificates drawn upon a bankrupt treasury, in place of payments; but they did not yield either to despondency or sullenly clamor for position under a government of their own creation. They recalled the promise of the "honorable Congress," made September 20, 1776, which offered as a bounty for enlistment, lands that could be converted into *homes*.

The measures taken by the officers at that time constitute the real foundation of that important movement which resulted in an organized, systematic, occupation of the Mississippi valley, based upon and accompanied by laws, constitutions, and ordinances which distinguish it from the prevailing individual efforts of pioneer progress. The documents relating to this original movement are of sufficient interest to justify their introduction in a complete form.

In point of time the first recorded evidence that the Ohio scheme was one of frequent discussion among the army officers, and under circumstances which Washington must have fully understood, is found in a letter of Colonel Timothy Pickering, dated New Windsor, April 7, 1783 (just five years before the landing at Marietta), to Mr. Hodgdon, as follows: "But a new plan is in contemplation, no less than forming a *new state* westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers of the army are heartily engaged in it. About a week since the matter was set on foot and a plan is digesting for the purpose. Inclosed is a rough draft of some propositions respecting it, which are generally approved of. They are in the hands of General Huntington and General Putnam, for consideration, amendment, and addition. It would be too tedious to explain to you in writing all the motives to attempt this measure, and all the advantages which will probably result from it. As soon as the plan is well digested it is intended to lay it before an assembly of the officers, and to learn the inclination of the soldiers. If it takes, an application will be made to Congress for the grant, and all things depending on *them*. I shall have much to say to you on this subject." Again, on April 14, 1783, he writes to Mr. Hodgdon: "General Putnam is warmly engaged in the new-planned settlement on the Ohio. He is very desirous of getting Hutchins' map. Mr. Aitken had them to sell. If possible, pray, forward me one."

The following letter of the Commander-in-chief to the Secretary of War, and the petition of the officers to Congress, show the hardships to which they were reduced:

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

HEADQUARTERS, *October* 2, 1782.

My Dear Sir:—Painful as the task is to describe the dark side of our affairs, it sometimes becomes a matter of indispensable necessity. Without disguise or palliation I will inform you candidly of the discontents which at this moment prevail universally throughout the army.

The evils of which they complain, and which they suppose almost remediless, are the total want of money or the means of existing from one day to another, the heavy debt they have already incurred, the loss of credit, the distress of their families at home, and the prospect of poverty and misery before them. It is vain, sir, to suppose that military men will acquiesce contentedly with bare rations, when those in the civil walks of life, unacquainted with half the hardships they endure, are regularly paid the emoluments of office. While the human mind is influenced by the same passions and inclinations this can not be. The military man has the same turn for sociability as a person in civil life. He conceives himself equally called upon to live up to his rank, and pride is hurt when circumstances restrain him. Only conceive, then, the mortification they must suffer (even the general officers) when they can not invite a French officer, a visiting friend, or a traveling acquaintance to a better repast than bad whisky (and not always that) and a bit of beef, without vegetables, will afford them!

The officers also complain of the hardships which they think might and ought to be remedied without delay; such as the stopping of promotions when there have been vacancies for a long time, the withholding of commissions from those who are justly entitled to them, and have warrants or certificates of their appointments from the executives of their states; and particularly the leaving the compensation for their services in a loose, equivocal state, without ascertaining their claims upon the public or making provisions for the future payment of them.

While I premise that no one I have seen or heard of appears opposed to the principle of reducing the army as circumstances may require, yet I can not help fearing the result of the measure in contemplation, under present circumstances, when I see such a number of men goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past and of anticipations of the future about to be turned into the world soured by penury and what they call the ingratitude of the public, involved in debts, without one farthing of money to carry them home after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them, their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, and suffering every thing that human nature is capable of enduring this side of death; I repeat it, that when I consider these irritating circumstances, without one thing to soothe their feelings or dispel the gloomy prospects, I can not avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious and disturbing nature. On the other hand, could the officers be placed in as good situation as when they came into service, the contention I am persuaded would be, not who should continue in the field, but who should return to private life.

I wish not to heighten the shades of the picture so far as the reality would justify me in doing it. I could give anecdotes of patriotism and distress which have scarcely ever been paralleled, never surpassed, in the history of mankind. But you may rely upon it the patience and long suffering of this army are almost exhausted, and that there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant. While in the field I think it may be kept from breaking out into acts of outrage, but when we retire into winter quarters, unless the storm is previously dissipated, I can not be at ease respecting the consequences. It is high time for a peace.

To you, my dear sir, I need not be more particular in describing my anxiety and the grounds of it. You are too well acquainted, from your own service, with the real sufferings of the army to require a longer detail. I will therefore only add that, exclusive of the common hardships of a military life, our troops have been and still are obliged to perform more services foreign to their proper duty, without gratuity or reward, than the soldiers of any other army. For example, the immense labor expended in doing the duty of the artificers in erecting fortifications and military works; the fatigue of building for themselves barracks or huts annually, and of cutting and transporting wood for the use of all our forts and garrisons, without any expense whatever to the public.

Of this letter, which, from the tenor of it, must be considered in some degree of a private nature, you may make such use as you shall think proper, since the principal objects of it are, by displaying the merits, the hardships, the disposition, and critical state of the army, to give information that may eventually be useful, and to convince you with what entire confidence and esteem I am, dear sir, etc. (*Sparks*, vol. 8, p. 353.)

This earnest appeal of the Commander-in-chief, on behalf of the army, was soon followed by the following, coming directly from the army to Congress:

TO THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

The address and petition of the officers of the army of the United States, humbly sheweth:

That we, the officers of the army of the United States, in behalf of ourselves and our brethren the soldiers, beg leave, with all proper deference and respect, freely to state to Congress, the supreme power of the United States, the great distress under which we labor. At this period of the war it is with peculiar pain we find ourselves constrained to address your august body on matters of a pecuniary nature. We have struggled with our difficulties year after year, and hoped that each would be the last, but we have been disappointed.

We find our embarrassments thicken so fast, and have become so complex, that many of us are unable to go further. In this exigence we apply to Congress for relief, as our head and sovereign. To prove that our hardships are exceedingly disproportionate to any other citizens of America, let a recurrence be had to paymasters' accounts for four years past. If to this it should be objected that the several states have made settlements and given securities for the pay due for part of that time, let the present value of their nominal obligations be ascertained by the moneyed men, and they will be found to be worth but little indeed; and yet, trifling as they are, many have been under the sad necessity of parting with them to prevent their families from starving.

We complain that shadows have been offered to us, while the substance has been gleaned by others. Our situation compels us to search for the cause of our extreme poverty. The citizens murmur at the greatness of the taxes, and are astonished that no part reaches the army. The numerous demands that are between the first collections and the soldiers swallow up the whole.

Our distresses are now brought to a point. We have borne all that men can bear; our property is expended, our private resources are at an end, and our friends are wearied out and disgusted with our incessant applications. We therefore most seriously and earnestly beg that a supply of money may be forwarded to the army as soon as possible. The uneasiness of the soldiers, for want of pay, is great and dangerous; any further experiments on their patience may have fatal effects. The promised subsistences, or ration of provisions, consisted of certain articles specified in kind and quantity. The ration, without regard, that we can conceive, to the health of the troops, has been frequently altered, as necessity or convenience suggested, generally losing by the change some part of the substance. On an average, not more than seven or eight-tenths pound have been issued; the retained parts were for a short time paid for, but the business became troublesome to those who were to execute it.

For this, or some other reasons, all regard to the dues of the soldiers have been discontinued (now and then a trifling gratuity excepted). As those dues respected the officers, they were compensated during one year and part of another by an extra ration. As to the retained rations, the account for several years remains unsettled. There is a large balance due on it, and considerable sum for forage. The clothing was another part of the soldiers' hire. The arrearages on that score for the year 1777 were paid off in Continental money, when the dollar was worth about four pence; the arrearages for the following years are unliquidated, and we apprehend scarcely thought of by the army. Whenever there has been a real want of means, any defect in system, or neglect in execution in the departments of the army, we have invariably been the sufferers, by hunger and nakedness, and by languishing in the hospital. We beg leave to urge an adjustment of all dues; that as great part as possible be paid, and the remainder put on such footing as will return cheerfulness to the army, revive confidence in the justice and generosity of its constituents, and contribute to the very desirable effort of re-establishing public credit. . . .

To the representation now made the army have no doubt that Congress will pay all that attention which the serious nature of it requires.

They therefore entreat that Congress, to convince the army and the world that the Independence of America shall not be placed on the ruin of any particular class of her citizens, will point out a mode for immediate redress.

H. Knox, Major-General.
John Patterson, Brigadier-General.
J. Greaton, Colonel.
John Cram, Colonel.
H. Maxwell, Lt.-Col.
J. Huntington, Brig.-Gen'l,
H. Swift, Colonel,
Sam'l H. Webb,
Eben Huntington, Lt.-Col.,
On part of Connecticut line.
P. Cortlandt, Colonel,
On part of N. York line.
John Cummings, Lt.-Col.,
On part of N. Jersey line.
William Scott, Major,
On part of N. Hampshire line.
W. Eustis, Hospital Surgeon,
On part of Gen'l Hosp'l.
Moses Hazen, Brigadier-General.

Cantonments, Hudson River, *December*, 1782.

[*Journals of Cong., vol.* 4, *p.* 206.

To show the close connection between the distressed condition of the army at that particular crisis, as so fully presented in the foregoing official statements, and the "Ohio scheme," it is only necessary to summon the testimony of one of Ohio's most honored pioneers, who was intimately acquainted with all the facts.

Judge Burnet, in his notes on the western territory, states the case as follows: "The early adventurers of the Northwestern Territory were generally men who had spent the prime of their lives in the war of Independence. Many of them had exhausted their fortunes in maintaining the desperate struggle, and retired to the wilderness to conceal their poverty and avoid comparisons mortifying to their pride while struggling to maintain their families and improve their condition."

Nothing can better establish the fact that the officers of the Revolution were illy compensated for their services and sufferings in the long and distressing struggle for national liberty than the destitute, dependent condition in which they found themselves at the close of the war. After having spent the most valuable period of their lives in the army, enduring every species of exposure, fatigue, and suffering, they were dismissed and sent to their homes, if they were so fortunate as to have any, with nothing but empty promises, which have never been realized, and most of them with broken or impaired constitutions.

The certificates they received as evidence of the sum due them from the country were almost valueless. They were even bought and sold in the market at two shillings and sixpence for twenty shillings, and so late as 1788 they were worth only five shillings in the pound, at which ruinous rate these meritorious men were driven by necessity to sell them or starve. These circumstances are here introduced chiefly to account for the fact that a large proportion of the early adventurers to the western wilderness had been officers and soldiers in the Revolutionary War. They were honorable, high-minded men, whose feelings rebelled at the thought of living in poverty among people of comparative wealth, for the protection of which their own poverty had been incurred. Under the influence of that noble feeling, hundreds of these brave men left their friends and sought retirement on the frontier, where no invidious comparisons could be drawn between wealth and poverty; and when they became involved in the hazardous conflicts of another war, Judge Burnet also says that three-fourths of the persons who formed the Miami Company and advanced the first installment of the purchase-money had served in the Revolutionary War.

The following are the propositions referred to by Colonel Pickering in his letter to Mr. Hodgdon:

PROPOSITIONS FOR SETTLING A NEW STATE BY SUCH OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE FEDERAL ARMY AS SHALL ASSOCIATE FOR THAT PURPOSE.

1. That the United States purchase of the natives that tract of country which is bounded by Pennsylvania on the east, the River Ohio on the south, a meridian line drawn thirty miles west of the mouth of the River Scioto on the west—this meridian to run from the Ohio to the Miami River, which runs into Lake Erie—and by this river and Lake Erie on the north.

2. That, in the first instance, lands be assigned to the army to fulfill the engagements of the United States by the resolutions of the 16th of September, 1776, August 13th and September 30th, 1780, to wit:

To a major-general	1,100	acres.
To a brigadier-general	850	"
To a colonel	500	"
To a lieutenant-colonel	450	"
To a major	400	"
To a captain	300	"
To a lieutenant	200	"
To an ensign or cornet	150	"
To a non-commissioned officer and soldier	100	"
To the director of the military hospitals	850	"
To chief physician and purveyor, each	500	"
To physicians, surgeons, and apothecary, each	450	"
To regimental surgeons and assistants to the surveyor and apothecary, each	400	"
To hospital and regimental surgeons' mates, each	300	"

3. That all associators who shall actually settle in the new state within one year after the purchase shall be effected, and notice given by Congress or the committee of the associators that the same is ready for settlement (such notice to be published in the newspapers of all the United States), shall receive such additional quantities of land as to make their respective

rights in the whole to contain the following number of acres, to wit:

A major-general	2,400	acres.
A brigadier-general	2,200	"
A colonel	2,000	"
A lieutenant-colonel	1,800	"
A major	1,600	"
A captain	1,400	"
A lieutenant	1,200	"
An ensign or cornet	1,000	"
A sergeant	700	"
Other non-commissioned officers and soldiers, each	600	"

And fifty acres more for each member of a family besides the head of it.

4. That the rights of the officers in the medical department be increased in like manner on the same condition.

5. That all officers in the other staff departments, who shall actually settle in the new State within the time above limited, shall receive rights of land in the proportions last stated, on an equitable comparison of their stations with the ranks of the officers of the line and the medical staff.

6. That this increased provision of lands shall extend to all officers of the line and staff, and to all non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who during the present war have performed in the whole three years' service, whether in service or not at the close of the war, provided they present their claims and become actual settlers in the new State by the time above limited.

7. These surplus rights being secured, all the surplus lands shall be the common property of the State and disposed of for the common good; as for laying out roads, building bridges, erecting public buildings, establishing schools and academies, defraying the expenses of government, and other public uses.

8. That every grantee shall have a house built and —— acres of land cleared on his right within —— years, or the same shall be forfeited to the State.

9. That, to enable the associators to undertake the settlement of the new State, the United States defray the expenses of the march thither, furnish the necessary utensils of husbandry, and such live stock as shall be indispensably requisite

for commencing the settlement, and subsistence for three years, to wit, one ration of bread and meat per day to each man, woman, and child; and to every soldier a suit of clothes annually; the cost of these articles to be charged to the accounts of arrearages due to the members of the association respectively.

10. That, for the security of the State against Indians, every officer and soldier go armed, the arms to be furnished by the United States and charged to the accounts of arrearages. Ammunition to be supplied in the same way.

11. That a Constitution for the new State be formed by the members of the association previous to their commencing the settlement, two-thirds of the associators present at a meeting duly notified for that purpose agreeing therein. The total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution.

12. That the associators, so assembled, agree on such general rules as they shall deem necessary for the prevention and punishment of crimes, and the preservation of peace and good order in the State; to have the force of laws during the space of two years, unless an Assembly of the State, formed agreeably to the Constitution, shall sooner repeal them.

13. That the State, so constituted, shall be admitted into the confederacy of the United States, and entitled to all the benefits of the Union, in common with the other members thereof.

14. That, at the above-mentioned meeting of the associators, delegates be chosen to represent them in the Congress of the United States, to take their seats as soon as the new State shall be erected.

15. That the associators, having borne together as brethren the dangers and calamities of war, and feeling that mutual friendship which long acquaintance and common sufferings give rise to, it being also the obvious dictate of humanity to supply the wants of the needy and alleviate the distresses of the afflicted, it shall be an inviolable rule to take under the immediate patronage of the State the wives and children of such associators who, having settled there, shall die, or, by cause of wounds or sickness, be rendered unable to improve

their plantations, or follow their occupations, during the first twenty-one years; so that such destitute and distressed families shall receive such public aids, as, joined with their own reasonable exertions, will maintain them in a manner suitable to the condition of the heads of them; especially that the children, when grown up, may be on a footing with other children whose parents, at the original formation of the State, were in similar circumstances with those of the former.

To his Excellency, the President and Honorable Delegates of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled.

The Petition of the Subscribers, Officers in the Continental Line of the Army, humbly showeth:

That, by a Resolution of the Honorable Congress, passed September 20, 1776, and other subsequent resolves, the officers (and soldiers engaged for the War) of the American Army who shall continue in service till the establishment of *Peace*, or, in case of their dying in service, their heirs are entitled to receive certain Grants of Lands, according to their several grades, to be procured for them at the expense of the United States.

That your petitioners are informed that that tract of country, bounded north on Lake *Erie*, east on *Pennsylvania*, southeast and south on the river *Ohio*, west on a line beginning at that part of the *Ohio* which lies twenty-four miles west of the river *Scioto*, thence running north on a meridian line till it intersects with the river *Miami*, which falls into Lake *Erie*, thence down the middle of that river to the lake, is a tract of country not claimed as the property of or in the jurisdiction of any particalar state in the Union.

That this country is of sufficient extent, the land of such quality, and situation such as may induce Congress to assign and mark it out as a Tract or Territory suitable to form a distinct Government (or Colony of the United States) in time to be admitted *one* of the confederated States of America.

Wherefore your petitioners pray that, whenever the Honorable Congress shall be pleased to procure the aforesaid Lands of the natives, they will make provision for the location and survey of the lands to which we are entitled within the aforesaid District, and also for all Officers and Soldiers who wish to take up their lands in that quarter.

That provision also be made for a further grant of lands, to such of the Army as wish to become adventurers in the new Government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchase, for public securities, as Congress shall judge most for the interest of the intended government, and rendering it of lasting consequence to the *American Empire.*

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

(Signed.) By two hundred and eighty-eight officers in the continental line of the army.

June 16, 1783.

John Greaton, Brig.-Gen., Mass.
Elias Dayton, Brig.-Gen., Jersey.
R. Putnam, Brig.-Gen., Mass.
H. Jackson, Col., 4th Reg., Mass.
David Cobb, Lt.-Col., 5th Reg., Mass.
Samuel Mellish, Lt., 3d Reg., Mass.
Benj. Tupper, Col., 6th Reg., Mass.
Wm. Hull, Lt.-Col., 6th Reg., Mass.
Moses Ashley, Major, 6th Reg., Mass.
Japheth Daniels, Capt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Eben Smith, Capt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Benj. Haywood, Capt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Samuel Frost, Capt., 6th Reg., Mass.
John Holden, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Jos. Miller, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Jos. Balcom, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Jedr. Rauson, Ensign, 6th Reg., Mass.
Ebenr. Ballentine, Sur. Mate, 6th Reg., Mass.
A. Morrill, Major, N. Hamp.
Peter Clayes, Capt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Ephraim Emery, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Josiah Smith, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
A. Tupper, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
J. Wales, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Andrew Garrett, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Elisha Foster, Ensign, 6th Reg., Mass.
Asa Graves, Ensign, 6th Reg., Mass.

Elisha Horton, Ensign, 6th Reg., Mass.
Jeremiah Lord, Ensign, 6th Reg., Mass.
Sam'l Leslie Scammell, Ensign, 6th Reg., Mass.
Nathan Goodale, Capt., 5th Reg., Mass.
James B. Finley, Surgeon, 5th Reg., Mass.
Ralph F. Bowles, Lt., 1st Reg., Mass.
Benj. Pierce, Lt., 1st Reg., Mass.
Joseph Williams, Capt., 3d Reg., Mass.
Samuel Whitwell, Surgeon, 3d Reg., Mass.
Tertius Taylor, Lt., 1st Reg., Mass.
John K. Smith, Capt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Jesse Hollister, Capt., 1st Reg., Mass.
John Mills, Capt., 1st Reg., Mass.
John Stark, Brig.-Gen., N. Hamp.
Wm. Scott, Major, N. Hamp.
Benj. Tallmadge, Major, 2d Reg. Lt. Drag., Conn.
Elijah Wadsworth, Capt., 2d Reg. Lt. Drag., Conn.
Simeon Jackson, Capt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Aaron Ogden, Capt., Jersey.
Samuel Reading, Major, Jersey.
Jonathan Holmes, Capt., Jersey.
Cyrus D. Hart, Capt., Jersey.
Edmund D. Thomas, Lt., Jersey.
Abraham Appleton, Lt., Jersey.
L. Dalsey, Lt. and Adjt., Jersey.
John Peck, Lt., Jersey.
Wm. Shute, Ensign, Jersey.
Samuel M. Shute, Lt., Jersey.
Jos. Buck, Lt., Jersey.
Samuel Hendry, Capt., Jersey.
Ben't Osmun, Lt., Jersey.
Moses Sproule, Ensign, Jersey.
Jno. Reed, Lt., Jersey.
Frank Luce, Ensign, Jersey.
Wessel T. Stout, Lt., Jersey.
John Bishop, Ensign, Jersey.
Wm. Tuttle, Ensign, Jersey.
George Walker, Lt., Jersey.

Wm. Kersey, Lt., Jersey.
John Ruecastle, Lt., Jersey.
Ebenezer Elmer, Surgeon, Jersey.
Alexander Mitchell, Capt., Jersey.
John Blair, Lt. and Pay M., Jersey.
Wm. Helms, Capt., Jersey.
Samuel Conn, Lt., Jersey.
Abner Brooks, Ensign, Jersey.
John Holmes, Capt., Jersey.
Wm. Piatt, Capt., Jersey.
Absalom Bonham, Lt., Jersey.
Jacob Hyer, Ensign, Jersey.
Eph. Whitlock, Lt. Adjt., Jersey.
Rich'd Cox, Major, Jersey.
Thos. Lansdale, Major, Maryland.
Walker Muse, Capt., Maryland.
Horatio Clagett, Capt., Maryland.
E. Spurrier, Capt., Maryland.
Thos. Bowie, Lt., Maryland.
Wm. Bruce, Capt., Maryland.
John Sears, Lt., Maryland.
Henry H. Chapman, Ensign, Maryland.
Robt. Halkerston, Lt., Maryland.
Ezekiel Haynie, Surgeon, Maryland.
Wm. Watts, S. Mate, Maryland.
Walter Dyer, Lt., Maryland.
Jno. Hartshorn, Lt., Maryland.
Ivory Holland, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Joseph Smith, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Pelatiah Everett, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Sylvenus Smith, Capt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Park Holland, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Samuel Finley, Surgeon, 7th Reg., Mass.
J. Farwell, Capt., N. Hamp.
Archibald Stark, Lt., N. Hamp.
Joseph Mills, Lt., N. Hamp.
Caleb Stark, Lt. A. D. Camp, N. Hamp.
Ebenr. Stockton, Surgeon, N. Hamp.
Jonathan Perkins, Lt., N. Hamp.

Benj. Ellis, Capt., N. Hamp.
Josiah Munro, Capt., N. Hamp.
J. Boynton, Lt. and Adj., N. Hamp.
Nathan Weare, Lt., N. Hamp.
Oliver Baron, Lt., N. Hamp.
Bezaleel Howe, Lt., N. Hamp.
Robt. B. Wilkins, Lt., N. Hamp.
J. Cilley, Lt., N. Hamp.
Daniel Livermore, Capt., N. Hamp.
David Allen, S. Mate, N. Hamp.
Moody Dustin, Capt., N. Hamp.
Jere Fogg, Capt., N. Hamp.
David McGregore, Capt., N. Hamp.
W. M. Bell, Capt., N. Hamp.
John Dennett, Capt., N. Hamp.
Samuel Cherry, Capt., N. Hamp.
Lemuel B. Mason, Lt., N. Hamp.
Joshua Merrow, Lt., N. Hamp.
Caleb Robinson, Major, N. Hamp.
James Carr, Major, N. Hamp.
Joseph Potter, Capt., N. Hamp.
Israel Evans, Chaplain, N. Hamp.
Henry Adams, Surgeon, 6th Reg., Mass.
Ezra Newhall, Lt.-Col., Mass.
N. Rice, Major, Mass.
John Blanchard, Capt., Mass.
Simeon Larned, Capt., Mass.
Wm. Moore, Capt., Mass.
D. Holbrook, Capt., 4th Reg., Mass.
Joel Pratt, Lt., 4th Reg., Mass.
John Davis, Lt., 4th Reg., Mass.
Oliver Rice, Lt., 4th Reg., Mass.
Robert Williams, Lt., 4th Reg., Mass.
Africa Hamlin, Lt., 4th Reg., Mass.
Wm. Shepard, Ens., 4th Reg., Mass.
R. S. Howe, Ens., 4th Reg., Mass.
Moses Knap, Major, 5th Reg., Mass.
Joshua Benson, Capt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Samuel Chapin, Lt., 4th Reg., Mass.

George Reid, Lt.-Col., Com'dt, N. Hamp.
Billy Porter, Major, 7th Reg., Mass.
T. Turner, Capt., 7th Reg., Mass.
Rufus Lincoln, Capt., 7th Reg., Mass.
W. Mills, Capt., 7th Reg., Mass.
Z. King, Capt., 7th Reg., Mass.
Gam. Bradford, Lt., 7th Reg., Mass.
Luke Day, Capt., 7th Reg., Mass.
Wm. McKendry, Lt., 7th Reg., Mass.
James Sawyer, Ensign, 7th Reg., Mass.
George Beale, Lt., 7th Reg., Mass.
Isaac G. Graham, S. Mate, 7th Reg., Mass.
Azariah Eggleston, Lt., 1st Reg., Mass.
Ephraim Hunt, Lt., 4th Reg., Mass.
John Williams, Capt., 1st Reg., Mass.
Frederick Frye, Ensign, 1st Reg., Mass.
Nath'l Cushing, Capt., 1st Reg., Mass.
Eben Brown, Lt., 1st Reg., Mass.
Benj. Wells, Lt., 1st Reg., Mass.
C. Marshall, Capt., 1st Reg., Mass.
Ben. Morgan, S. Mate, 1st. Reg., Mass.
Daniel Lunt, Capt., 1st Reg., Mass.
Joseph Fish, Surgeon, 1st Reg., Mass.
Adl. Warner, Lt., 1st. Reg., Mass.
Benj. Jones Porter, Sur., 4th Reg., Mass.
Daniel Shute, Sur., 4th Reg., Mass.
Elijah Vose, Lt.-Col., 1st Reg., Mass.
Lem. Trescott, Major, 7th Reg., Mass.
Abraham Williams, Capt., 2d Reg., Mass.
Wm. Torrey, Lt. and Adj., 2d Reg., Mass.
Hezekiah Ripley, Lt., 2d Reg., Mass.
Wm. Taylor, Lt., 2d Reg., Mass.
Silas Morton, Lt., 2d Reg., Mass.
Samuel Myrrick, Lt., 2d Reg., Mass.
Jacob Leonard, Ensign, 2d Reg., Mass.
M. G. Houdin, Capt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Joseph Killam, Capt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Wm. Eysendeau, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Marlbry Turner, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.

Nathan Leavenworth, S. Mate, 8th Reg., Mass.
John Hart, Surgeon, 2d Reg., Mass.
Joshua Danforth, Lt., 2d Reg., Mass.
John Warren, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Alexander Oliver, Ens., 5th. Reg., Mass.
Jonathan Wing, Ens., 5th Reg., Mass.
John Burnard, Major, 5th Reg., Mass.
Benj. Gilbert, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Moses Carleton, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Zibeon Hooker, Lt., 5th Reg., Mass.
Daniel McCay, Ens., 5th Reg., Mass.
Jonathan Felt, Capt., 5th Reg., Mass.
John Yeomans, Lt., 4th Reg., Mass.
Isaac Frye, Capt., N. Hamp.
Asa Sinter, Capt., N. Hamp.
John Paterson, Brig.-Gen., Mass.
J. Brooks, Lt.-Col., Com't, 7th Reg., Mass.
Caleb Clap, Capt., 4th Reg., Mass.
Levi Holden, Capt., 6th Reg., Mass.
J. Huntington, Brig.-Gen., Conn.
Heman Swift, Col., 2d Reg., Conn.
Jos. A. Wright, Major, 3d Reg., Conn.
Eben Gray, Lt.-Col., 3d Reg., Conn.
Lem'l Clift, Capt., 1st Reg., Conn.
Nathan Beers, Lt. and P. M., 3d Reg., Conn.
Eben'r Frothingham, Lt. and Q. M., 3d Reg., Conn.
John Rose, Surgeon, 3d Reg., Conn.
Joseph Clark, Ens., 3d Reg., Conn.
Eneas Munson, S. Mate, 3d Reg., Conn.
Aaron Keeler, Ens., 3d Reg., Conn.
John Hobart, Lt., 3d Reg., Conn.
Wm. Linn, Lt., 3d Reg., Conn.
Stephen Betts, Capt., 3d Reg., Conn.
Roger Wells, Capt., 3d Reg., Conn.
Abner Cole, Ens., 3d Reg., Conn.
Daniel Bradley, Lt., 3d Reg., Conn.
Jacques Harmon, Ens., 3d. Reg., Conn.
Ezra Selden, Capt., 3d Reg., Conn.
Samuel Hait, Lt., 3d Reg., Conn.

Richard Douglass, Capt., 3d Reg., Conn.
Joshua Whitney, Lt., 3d Reg., Conn.
John Trowbridge, Lt., 3d Reg., Conn.
George Cotton, Ens., 1st Reg., Conn.
Hezekiah Hubbard, Lt., 1st Reg., Conn.
Joshua Knapp, Ens., 1st Reg., Conn.
Eben Wales, Lt., 1st Reg., Conn.
Reuben Sanderson, Lt., 1st Reg., Conn.
Silas Goodell, Lt., 1st Reg., Conn.
O. Goodrich, Ens., 1st Reg., Conn.
Wm. Higgins, Lt. and Q. M., 1st Reg., Conn.
John Noyes, Surgeon, 1st Reg., Conn.
Pownall Deming, Lt., 1st Reg., Conn.
Wm. Walmsley, Ens., 1st Reg., Conn.
John H. Buell, Capt., 1st Reg., Conn.
Wm. Judd, Capt., 3d Reg., Conn.
Charles Miller, Lt., 1st Reg., Conn.
Libburt Loomis, Lt. and Adj., 1st Reg., Conn.
Charles Fanning, Lt. and P. M., Conn.
Samuel B. Webb, Col., 3d Reg., Conn.
Daniel M'Lane, Lt., Artillery, Mass.
H. Knox, Maj.-Gen., Mass.
John Crane, Col., Artillery, Mass.
Wm. Perkins, Major, Artillery, Mass.
John Liswell, Lt., Artillery, Mass.
Charles Knowles, Capt., Artillery, Mass.
Florence Crowley, Lt., Artillery, Mass.
Nathaniel Donnell, Capt., Artillery, Mass.
James Hall, Capt., Lt. Artillery, Mass.
Thomas Vose, Capt., Artillery, Mass.
Abijah Hammond, Lt., Lt. Artillery, Mass.
Wm. Moor, Lt., Artillery, Mass.
John Callender, Capt., Lt. Artillery, Mass.
Samuel Cooper, Lt. and Adj., Artillery, Mass.
John Doughty, Capt., Artillery, N. York.
Eben Huntington, Lt.-Col., 1st Reg., Conn.
Nath. Holbrook, Lt., Mass.
Reuben Lilley, Lt., Mass.
Eben Sproat, Lt.-Col., Com't, 2d Reg., Mass.

Jacob Town, Lt., 2d Reg., Mass.
Cornelius Lyman, Ens., 2d Reg., Mass.
R. Bradford, Capt., 2d Reg., Mass.
Jotham Ames, Lt., 2d Reg., Mass.
John Hurd, Ens., 2d Reg., Mass.
Robt. Oliver, Major, 2d Reg., Mass.
Robt. Walker, Capt., 2d Reg., Mass.
J. Hill, Lt., 2d Reg., Mass.
N. Thaacher, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
John Whiting, Lt., 2d Reg., Mass.
Hugh Maxwell, Lt.-Col., 8th Reg., Mass.
Silas Peirce, Capt., 8th Reg., Mass.
Thos. Foster, Lt., 8th Reg., Mass.
Edward White, Lt., 8th Reg., Mass.
Joseph Crook, Lt., 6th Reg., Mass.
Joseph Leland, Lt., 8th Reg., Mass.
Wm. Hildreth, Lt., 8th Reg., Mass.
Francis Tufts, Lt. and Adj., 8th Reg., Mass.
James Bancroft, Lt., 8th Reg., Mass.
Jeduthun Baldwin, Col., Engineers, Mass.
Edward Phelon, Lt., 4th Reg., Mass.
David Humphreys, Lt.-Col., Conn.
J. Trumbull, Lt.-Col., Sec. to the Com. in Chief, Conn.
W. Barber, Major and Assit. Ins. N. Army, Jersey.
W. Colfax, Capt., 2d Reg., Conn.

NEW WINDSOR, 16*th June*, 1783.

Sir:—As it is very uncertain how long it may be before the honorable Congress may take the petition of the officers of the army for lands between the Ohio River and Lake Erie into consideration, or be in a situation to decide thereon, the going to Philadelphia to negotiate the business with any of its members, or committee to whom the petition may be referred, is a measure none of the petitioners will think of undertaking. The part which I have taken in promoting the petition is well known, and therefore needs no apology, when I inform you that the signers expect that I will pursue measures to have it laid before Congress. Under these circumstances, I beg leave to put the petition into your Excellency's hands, and ask, with the greatest assurance, your patronage of it. That Congress may not be wholly unacquainted with the motives of the petitioners, I beg your indulgence while I make a few observations on the policy and propriety of granting the prayer of it, and making such arrangements of garrisons in the western quarter as shall give effectual protection to the settlers and encourage emigration to the new government, which, if they meet your approbation, and the favor not too great, I must request your Excellency will give them your support, and cause them to be forwarded with the petition to the President of Congress, in order that when the petition is taken up, Congress, or their committee, may be informed on what principles the petition is grounded. I am, sir, among those who consider the cession of so great a tract of territory to the United States in the western world as a very happy circumstance and of great consequence to the American Empire. Nor have I the least doubt but Congress will pay an early attention to securing the allegiance of the natives, as well as provide for the defense of that country, in case of a war with Great Britain or Spain.

One great means of securing the allegiance of the natives, I take to be, the furnishing them such necessaries as they shall stand in need of, and in exchange receiving their furs and skins. They are become so accustomed to the use of firearms, that I doubt if they could gain a subsistence without them, at least they will be very sorry to be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of using the bow and arrow as the only means for killing their game, and so habituated are they to the woolen blanket, etc., that an absolute necessity alone will prevent their making use of them. This consideration alone is, I think, to prove the necessity of establishing such factories as may furnish an ample supply to these wretched creatures; for unless they are furnished by the subjects of the United States, they will undoubtedly seek elsewhere, and like all other people form their attachment where they have their commerce, and then in case of a war, will always be certain to aid our enemies.

Therefore, if there were no advantages in view but that of attaching them to our interest, I think good policy will dictate the measure of carrying on a commerce with these people; but when we add to this the consideration of the profit arising from the Indian trade in general, there can not, I presume, be a doubt that it is the interest of the United States to make as early provision for the encouragement and protection of it as possible. For these and many other obvious reasons, Congress will, no doubt, find it necessary to establish garrisons at Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, Illinois, and many other places in the western world.

The Illinois and all the posts that shall be established on the Mississippi may undoubtedly be furnished by way of the Ohio with provisions at all times, and with goods whenever a war shall interrupt the trade with New Orleans. But in case of a war with Great Britain, unless a communication is open between the River Ohio, Lake Erie, Niagara, Detroit, and all posts seated on the great Lakes will inevitably be lost without such communication, for a naval superiority on Lake Ontario, or the seizing on Niagara, will subject the whole country bordering on the lakes to the will of the enemy. Such a misfortune will put it out of the power of the United States to furnish the natives, and necessity will again oblige them to take an active part against us.

Where and how this communication is to be opened shall next be considered. If Captain Hutchins and a number of other map makers are not out in their calculations, provisions may be sent from the settlements on the south side of the Ohio by the Muskingum or Scioto to Detroit, or even to Niagara at a less expense than from Albany by the Mohawk, to those places. To secure such communication (by the Scioto, all circumstances considered, will be the best), let a chain of posts be established. These forts should be built on the bank of the river, if the ground will admit, and about twenty miles distant from each other, and on this plan the Scioto communication will require ten or eleven stockaded forts, flanked by block-houses, and one company of men will be a sufficient garrison for each, except the one at the portage, which will require more attention in the construction and a larger number of men to garrison it; but, besides supplying the garrisons of the great lakes with provisions, etc., we ought to take into consideration the protection that such an arrangement will give to the frontiers of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York. I say New York, as we shall undoubtedly extend our settlements and garrisons from the Hudson to Oswego. This done, and a garrison posted at Niagara, whoever will inspect the maps must be convinced that all the Indians living on the waters of the Mohawk, Oswego, Susquehanna, and Alleghany Rivers, and in all the country south of the Lakes Ontario and Erie, will be encircled in such a manner as will effectually secure their allegiance and keep them quiet, or oblige them to quit their country.

Nor will such an arrangement of posts from the Ohio to Lake Erie be any additional expense, for unless this gap is shut, notwithstanding the garrisons on the Lakes and from Oswego to the Hudson, yet the frontier settlers on the Ohio by Fort Pitt to the Susquehanna, and all the country south of the Mohawk, will be exposed to savage insult, unless protected by a chain of garrisons, which will be far more expensive than the arrangement proposed, and at the same time the protection given to these states will be much less complete; besides, we should not confine our protection to the present settlements, but carry the idea of extending them at least as far as the Lakes Ontario and Erie.

These Lakes form such a natural barrier that, when connected with the Hudson and Ohio by the garrisons proposed, settlements, in every part of the states of New York and Pennsylvania, may be made with the utmost safety, so that these states must be deeply interested in the measure, as well as Virginia, who will, by the same arrangement, have a great part of its frontiers secured and the rest much strengthened; nor is there a state in the Union but will be greatly benefited by the measure considered in another point of view, for, without any expense except a small allowance of purchase-money to the natives, the United States will have within their protection 17,500,000 acres of very fine lands to dispose of as they may think proper.

But I hasten to mention some of the expectations which the petitioners have respecting the conditions on which they hope to obtain the lands—this was not proper to mention in the body of the petition, especially as we pray for grants to all members of the army who wish to take up lands in that quarter.

The whole tract is supposed to contain about 17,418,240 acres, and will admit of 756 townships of six miles square, allowing to each township 3,040 acres for the ministry, schools, waste lands, rivers, ponds, and highways; then each township will contain, of settlers' lands, 20,000 acres, and in the whole, 15,120,000 acres. The land to which the army is entitled by the resolves of Congress referred to in the petition, according to my estimate, will amount to 2,106,850 acres, which is about the eighth part of the whole; for the survey of this they expect to be at no expense, nor do they expect to be under any obligation to settle these lands, or do any duty to secure their title to them; but, in order to induce the army to become settlers in the new government, the petitioners hope Congress will make a further grant of lands, on condition of settlement, and have no doubt but that honorable body will be as liberal to all those who are not provided for by their own states as New York has been to the officers and soldiers who belong to that state, which, if they do, it will require about 8,000,000 of acres to complete the army, and about 7,000,000 acres will remain for sale. That the petitioners, at least some of them, are much opposed to the monopoly of lands, and wish to guard against large patents being granted to individuals, as in their opinion such a mode is very injurious to a country, and greatly retards its settlement, and whenever such patents are tenanted, it throws too much power into the hands of a few. For these and many other obvious reasons, the petitioners hope no grants will be made but by townships of six miles square, or six by twelve, or six by eighteen miles, to be subdivided by the proprietors to six miles square, that being the standard on which they wish all calculations may be made, and that officers and soldiers, as well as those who petition for charters on purchase, may form their associations on one uniform principle, as to number of persons or rights to be contained in a township, with the exception only that, when the grant is made for reward of services already done, or on condition of settlement, if the officers petition with the soldiers for a particular township, the soldiers shall have one right only to a captain's three, and so in proportion with commissioned officers of every grade.

These, sir, are the principles which gave rise to the petition under consideration; the petitioners, at least some of them, conceive that sound policy dictates the measure, and that Congress ought to lose no time in establishing some such chain of posts as has been hinted at, and in procuring the tract of country petitioned for of the natives, for the moment this is done, and agreeable terms offered to the settlers, many of the petitioners are determined, not only to become adventurers, but actually to remove themselves to this country; and there is not the least doubt but other valuable citizens will follow their example, and the probability is that the country between Lake Erie and Ohio will be filled with inhabitants, and the faithful subjects of these United States so established on the waters of the Ohio and the lakes as to banish forever the idea of our western territory falling under the dominion of any European power, the frontier of the old states will be effectually secured from savage alarms, and the *new* will have little to fear from their insults.

I have the honor to be, sir, with every sentiment of respect, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

(Signed,) RUFUS PUTNAM.

GEN. WASHINGTON.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH, *June* 17, 1783.

Sir:—I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency, for the consideration of Congress, a petition from a large number of officers of the army, in behalf of themselves and such other officers and soldiers of the continental army as are entitled to rewards in lands, and may choose to avail themselves of any privileges and grants which may be obtained in consequence of the present solicitation. I inclose also the copy of a letter from Brig.-General Putnam, in which the sentiments and expectations of the petitioners are more fully explained, and in which the ideas of occupying the posts in the western country will be found to correspond very nearly with those I have some time since communicated to a committee of

Congress, in treating of the subject of a peace establishment. I will beg leave to make a few more observations on the general benefits of the location and settlement now proposed, and then submit the justice and policy of the measure to the wisdom of Congress.

Although I pretend not myself to determine how far the district of unsettled country, which is described in the petition, is free from the claim of every state, or how far this disposal of it may interfere with the views of Congress, yet it appears to me this is the tract which, from local position and peculiar advantages, ought to be first settled in preference to any other whatever; and I am perfectly convinced that it can not be so advantageously settled by any other class of men, as by disbanded officers and soldiers of the army, to whom the faith of government hath long since been pledged, that lands should be granted at the expiration of the war in certain proportions, agreeably to their respective grades.

I am induced to give my sentiments thus freely on the advantages to be expected from this plan of colonization, because it would connect our governments with the frontiers, extend our settlements progressively, and plant a brave, a hardy, and respectable race of people as our advanced post, who would be always ready and willing (in case of hostility) to combat the savages and check their incursions. A settlement formed by such men would give security to our frontiers; the very name of it would awe the Indians, and more than probably prevent the murder of many innocent families, which frequently, in the usual mode of extending our settlements and encroachments on the hunting grounds of the natives, fall the hapless victims to savage barbarity. Besides the emoluments which might be derived from the peltry trade at our factories, if such should be established, the appearance of so formidable a settlement in the vicinity of their towns (to say nothing of the barrier it would form against our other neighbors) would be the most likely means to enable us to purchase, upon equitable terms, of the aborigines, their right of pre-occupancy, and to induce them to relinquish our territories, and to remove into the illimitable regions of the west.

Much more might be said of the public utility of such a location, as well as of the private felicity it would afford to the individuals concerned in it. I will venture to say it is the most rational and practicable scheme which can be adopted by a great proportion of the officers and soldiers of our army, and promises them more happiness than they can expect in any other way. The settlers being in the prime of life, inured to hardship, and taught by experience to accommodate themselves in every situation, going in a considerable body, and under the patronage of government, would enjoy in the first instance advantages in procuring subsistence, and all the necessaries for a comfortable beginning, superior to any common class of emigrants, and quite unknown to those who have heretofore extended themselves beyond the Appalachian Mountains. They may expect, after a little perseverance, competence and independence for themselves, a pleasant retreat in old age, and the fairest prospects for their children.

I have the honor to be, with great consideration,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
(Signed,) GEORGE WASHINGTON.
HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

RUTLAND, *April* 5, 1784.

Dear Sir:—Being unavoidably prevented from attending the general meeting of the Cincinnati at Philadelphia, as I had intended, where I once more expected the opportunity in person of paying my respects to your Excellency, I can not deny myself the honor of addressing you by letter, to acknowledge with gratitude the ten thousand obligations I feel myself under to your goodness, and most sincerely to congratulate you on your return to domestic happiness; to inquire after your health, and wish the best of Heaven's blessings may attend you and your dear lady.

The settlement of the Ohio country, sir, engrosses many of my thoughts, and much of my time since I left the camp has been employed in informing myself and others with respect to the nature, situation, and circumstances of that country, and practicability of removing ourselves there; and if I am to form an opinion on what I have seen and heard on the subject, there are thousands in this quarter who will emigrate to that country as soon as the honorable Congress make provisions for granting lands there, and locations and settlements can be made with safety, unless such provision is too long delayed—I mean, till necessity turn their views another way, which is the case with some already, and must soon be the case with many more. You are sensible of the necessity, as well as the possibility, of both officers and soldiers fixing themselves in business somewhere as soon as possible, as many of them are unable to lie long on their oars, waiting the decision of Congress on our petition, and therefore must unavoidably settle themselves in some other quarter, which, when done, the idea of removing to the Ohio country will probably be at an end with respect to most of them; besides, the commonwealth of Massachusetts have come to a resolution to sell their eastern country for public securities; and should their plan be formed and propositions be made public before we hear any thing from Congress respecting our petition, and the terms on which the land petitioned for are to be obtained, it will undoubtedly be much against us, by greatly lessening the number of Ohio associates.

Another reason why we wish to know as soon as possible what the intentions of Congress are respecting our petition, is the effect such knowledge will probably have on the credit of the certificates we have received on settlement of accounts. Those securities are now selling at no more than three shillings and six pence or four shillings on the pound, which in all probability might double, if no more, the moment it was known that government would receive them for lands in the Ohio country. From these circumstances and many others which might be mentioned, we are growing quite impatient; and the general inquiry now is, when are we going to the Ohio? Among others, Brig.-Gen. Tupper, Lt.-Col. Oliver, and Maj. Ashley have agreed to accompany me to that country the moment the way is opened for such an undertaking. I should have hinted these things to some member of Congress, but the delegates from Massachusetts, though exceeding worthy men, and in general would wish to promote the Ohio scheme, yet, if it should militate against the particular interest of this state, by draining her of inhabitants, especially when she is forming the plan of selling the eastern country, I thought they would not be very warm advocates in our favor. And I dare not trust myself with any of the New York delegates with whom I am acquainted, because that government are wisely inviting the eastern people to settle in that state; and as to the delegates of other states, I have no acquaintance with any of them.

These circumstances must apologize for my troubling you on this subject, and requesting the favor of a line to inform us in this quarter what the prospects are with respect to our petition, and what measures have or are likely to be taken with respect to settling the Ohio country.

I shall take it as a very particular favor, sir, if you will be kind enough to recommend me to some character in Congress, acquainted with and attached to the Ohio cause, with whom I may presume to open a correspondence.

I am, sir, with the highest respect,

Your humble servant,

GEN. WASHINGTON. RUFUS PUTNAM.

MOUNT VERNON, *June* 2, 1784.

Dear Sir:—I could not answer your favor of the 5th of April, from Philadelphia, because General Knox, having mislaid, only presented the letter to me in the moment of my departure from that place. The sentiments of esteem and friendship which breathe in it are exceedingly pleasing and flattering to me, and you may rest assured they are reciprocal.

I wish it was in my power to give you a more favorable account of the officers' petition for lands on the Ohio and its waters than I am about to do. After this matter, and information respecting the establishment for peace, were my inquiries, as I went through Annapolis, solely directed, but I could not learn that any thing decisive had been done in either.

On the latter, I hear Congress are differing about their powers; but, as they have accepted of the cession from Virginia, and have resolved to lay off ten new states, bounded by latitudes and longitudes, it should be supposed that they would determine something respecting the former before they adjourn, and yet I very much question it, as the latter is to happen on the third, that is to-morrow. As the Congress who are to meet in November next, by the adjournment, will be composed of an entire new choice of delegates in each state, it is not in my power, *at this time*, to direct you to a proper correspondent in that body. I wish I could, for persuaded I am that to some such cause as you have assigned may be ascribed the delay the petition has encountered; for, surely, if justice and gratitude to the army, and general policy of the Union, were to govern in this case, there would not be the smallest interruption in granting its request. I really feel for those gentlemen who, by these unaccountable delays (by any other means than those you have suggested), are held in such an awkward and disagreeable state of suspense, and wish my endeavors could remove the obstacles. At Princeton, before Congress left that place, I exerted every power I was master of, and dwelt upon the argument you have used, to show the propriety of a speedy decision. Every member with whom I conversed acquiesced in the reasonableness of the petition. All yielded, or seemed to yield, to the policy of it, but pleaded the want of cession of the land to act upon; this has been made and accepted, and yet matters, as far as they have come to my knowledge, remain in *statu quo*. I am endeavoring to do something with the lands I now hold and have held in that country these twelve or fourteen years. The inclosed contains the terms upon which I propose to lease them. If you think the promulgation of the paper inclosed can be of service to myself, it is optional with you to do so.

I am, dear sir, with very sincere esteem and regard,

Your most obedient servant,

Gen. R. Putnam. G. Washington.

CHAPTER V.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS OF OHIO COMPANY—ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT—LETTERS TO MAJOR SARGENT AND NATHAN DANE—DIARY, 1787.

By the failure of Congress to act upon the petition of the officers, their scheme was delayed, but not defeated. The urgent necessities of the principal movers compelled them to disperse, as soon as the army was disbanded, and seek employment. Putnam * took a contract to survey ten townships for Massachusetts, in her province of Maine. General Tupper,† another

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* Rufus Putnam was born in Sutton, Mass., 1738. He served in the old French War in four campaigns, 1757 to 1761, and attained the rank of Ensign. After the war he studied navigation and surveying, and became especially proficient as a civil engineer. He served in the Revolutionary War as Lieutenant-Colonel of Brewer's Regiment, Chief Engineer of the Army, Colonel of the 5th Massachusetts, and Brigadier-General. He was a member of the Massachusetts General Court in 1787. He became interested in the project of a settlement north-west of the Ohio in 1783, was one of the founders of the Ohio Company, was appointed its Superintendent in 1787, and led the first party who landed at Marietta, 7th April, 1788. He was one of the Judges of the North-west Territory, 1790 to 1796; Surveyor-General of the United States, 1796 to 1803; and a member of the convention which formed the first Constitution of Ohio, in 1802. He died in Marietta, Ohio, 1824.

† Benjamin Tupper was born in Stoughton, Mass., 1738. He was a soldier in the old French War, and was in the field during the whole of the Revolutionary War, rising from the rank of Major to Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General. In 1785 he was appointed one of the Surveyors of the North-west Territory, and it was his report, after a visit to the west, that led to the call, signed by himself and General Putnam, for the meeting which resulted in the formation of the Ohio Company. In the summer of 1786, in command of troops under General Lincoln, he took an active part in suppressing Shay's rebellion. Early in 1788, he removed to Marietta, with his family and that of his son-in-law, Ichabod Nye, reaching there 19 August, 1788. These families, and those of Colonel N. Cushing and Major Goodale, who accompanied them, were the first families to settle in what is now the State of Ohio. General Tupper was appointed Judge of the Common Pleas

of the signers of the petition, accepted a vacancy made by Putnam's retirement from the United States Surveyors appointed to run out the seven Ranges. But, in 1786, they met again. Putnam could say, from personal observation, of Maine: "That country in general is not fit for cultivation, and when this idea is connected with the climate, a man ought to consider himself curst even in this world, who is doomed to inhabit there as a cultivator of the lands only."

Tupper, returning from a visit to the Ohio in 1785, could say: "The lands in that quarter are of a much better quality than any other known to the New England people; the climate, seasons, products, etc., are in fact equal to the most flattering accounts that have been published of them."

With this addition to their stock of knowledge as to locations, they issued, on the 10th day of January, 1786, a paper, headed "*Information*," calling a meeting of those who wished to take an interest in the "Ohio scheme" of settlement. This advertisement was as follows:

INFORMATION.

The subscribers take this method to inform all officers and soldiers, who have served in the late war, and who are by a late ordinance of the honorable Congress to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio country, and also all other good citizens who wish to become adventurers in that delightful region, that from personal inspection, together with other incontestible evidences, they are fully satisfied that the lands in that quarter are of a much better quality than any other known to New England people; that the climate, seasons, product, etc., are in fact equal to the most flattering accounts that have ever been published of them; that being determined to become purchasers, and to prosecute a settlement in this country, and desirious of forming a general association with those who entertain the same ideas, they beg leave to propose the following plan, viz: That an association by the name of *The Ohio*

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in September, 1788, and, with General Putnam, held the first court in the North-west Territory. He died in Marietta, 1792. The entry in Dr. Cutler's journal, August 15, 1788, indicates that General Tupper was the real inventor of the screw propeller.

Company be formed of all such as wish to become purchasers, etc., in that country who reside in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts only, or to extend to the inhabitants of other states as shall be agreed on. In order to bring such a company into existence the subscribers propose that all persons who wish to promote the scheme should meet in their respective counties at 10 o'clock A. M. on Wednesday the 15th day of February next, and that each county meeting then assembled choose a delegate or delegates to meet at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, in Boston, on Wednesday the first day of March next, at 10 o'clock A. M., then and there to consider and determine on a general plan of association for said company; which plan, covenant, or agreement being published, any person (under condition therein to be provided) may by subscribing his name become a member of the company.

RUFUS PUTNAM,
RUTLAND, *January* 10, 1786. BENJAMIN TUPPER.

In consequence of this notice meetings were held in the several counties, and delegates appointed, who convened at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, in Boston, March 1, 1786. These were Winthrop Sargent and John Mills, from Suffolk County; Manasseh Cutler, from Essex; John Brooks and Thomas Cushing, from Middlesex; Benjamin Tupper, from Hampshire; Crocker Sampson, from Plymouth; Rufus Putnam, from Worcester; John Patterson and Jelaliel Woodbridge, from Berkshire; and Abraham Williams, from Barnstable.

General Rufus Putnam was chairman of this meeting and Major Winthrop Sargent, secretary. It appears from the Records of the Ohio Company that: From the very pleasing description of the western country given by Generals Putnam and Tupper, and others, it appearing expedient to form a settlement there, a motion was made for choosing a committee to prepare a draft of a plan of an association into a company for the said purpose, for the inspection and approbation of this convention. Resolved in the affirmative. Also resolved that the committee consist of five. General Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, Colonel Brooks, Major Sargent, and Captain Cushing were elected, and on Friday, March 3d, the committee made the following report to the convention:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY THE SUBSCRIBERS FOR CONSTITUTING AN ASSOCIATION BY THE NAME OF THE OHIO COMPANY:

The design of this association is to raise a fund in continental certificates for the sole purpose and to be appropriated to the entire use of purchasing lands in the western territory belonging to the United States, for the benefit of the company, and to promote a settlement in that country.

Article 1. That the fund shall not exceed one million of dollars, in continental specie certificates, exclusive of one year's interest due thereon (except as hereafter provided), and that each share or subscription shall consist of one thousand dollars, as aforesaid, and also ten dollars in gold or silver, to be paid into the hands of such agents as the subscribers may elect.

Article 2. That the whole fund of certificates raised by this association, except one year's interest due thereon, mentioned under the first article, shall be applied to the purchase of lands in some one of the proposed states north-westerly of the river Ohio, as soon as those lands are surveyed and exposed for sale by the Commissioners of Congress, according to the ordinance of that honorable body, passed the 20th of May, 1785, or on any other plan that may be adopted by Congress, not less advantageous to the company. The one year's interest shall be applied to the purpose of making a settlement in the country and assisting those who may be otherwise unable to remove themselves thither. The gold and silver is for defraying the expenses of those persons employed as agents in purchasing the lands, and other contingent charges that may arise in the prosecution of the business. The surplus, if any, to be appropriated as the one year's interest on the certificates.

Article 3. That there shall be five directors, a treasurer, and secretary appointed in the manner and for the purposes hereafter provided.

Article 4. That the prosecution of the company's designs may be the least expensive, and at the same time the subscribers and agents as secure as possible, the proprietors of twenty shares shall constitute one grand division of the company; appoint their agent, and in case of vacancy by death, resignation, or otherwise, shall fill it up as immediately as can be.

Article 5. That the agent shall make himself accountable to each subscriber for certificates and moneys received, by duplicate receipts, one of which shall be lodged with the secretary; that the whole shall be appropriated according to these articles of association, and that the subscriber shall receive his just dividend, according to quality and quantity of lands purchased, as near as possibly may be, by lot drawn in person or through proxy, and that deeds of conveyance shall be executed to individual subscribers, by the agent, similar to those he shall receive from the directors.

Article 6. That no person shall be permitted to hold more than five shares in the company's funds, and no subscription for less than a full share will be admitted; but this is not meant to prevent those who can not or choose not to adventure a full share, from associating among themselves, and by one of their number subscribing the sum required.

Article 7. That the directors shall have the sole disposal of the Company's fund for the purposes before mentioned; that they shall, by themselves, or such person or persons as they may think proper to intrust with the business, purchase lands for the benefit of the company, where, and in such way, either at public or private sale, as they shall judge will be most advantageous to the Company. They shall also direct the application of the one year's interest, and gold and silver, mentioned in the first article, to the purposes mentioned under the second article, in such way and manner as they shall think proper. For those purposes, the directors shall draw on the treasurer, from time to time, making themselves accountable for the application of the moneys, agreeably to this association.

Article 8. That the agents, being accountable to the subscribers for their respective divisions, shall appoint the directors, treasurer, and secretary, and fill up all the vacancies which may happen in these offices respectively.

Article 9. That the agents shall pay all the certificates and moneys received from subscribers into the hands of the treasurer, who shall give bonds to the agents, jointly and severally, for the faithful discharge of his trust; and also, on his receiving certificates and moneys from any particular agent, shall make himself accountable therefor, according to the condition of his bonds.

Article 10. That the directors shall give bonds, jointly and severally, to each of the agents, conditioned that the certificates and moneys they shall draw out of the treasury shall be applied to the purposes stipulated in these articles; and that the lands purchased for the Company shall be divided among them within three months from the completion of the purchase, by lot, in such manner as the agents, or a majority of them, shall agree; and that, on such division being made, the directors shall execute deeds to the agents, respectively, for the proportions which fall to their divisions, correspondent to those the directors may receive from the commissioners of Congress.

Article 11. *Provided*, That whereas a sufficient number of subscribers may not appear to raise the fund to the sums proposed in the first article, and thereby the number of divisions may not be completed, it is therefore agreed that the agents of divisions of twenty shares each shall, after the 17th day of October next, proceed in the same manner as if the whole fund proposed had been raised.

Article 12. *Provided, also*, That whereas it will be for the common interest of the Company to obtain an ordinance of incorporation from the honorable Congress, or an act of incorporation from some one of the states in the Union (for which the directors shall make application), it is therefore agreed that, in case such incorporation is obtained, the fund of the Company (and, consequently, the shares and divisions thereof) may be extended to any sum, for which provision shall be made in said ordinance or act of incorporation, any thing in this association to the contrary notwithstanding.

Article 13. That all votes under this association may be given in person, or by proxy, and in numbers justly proportionate to the stock holden, or interest represented.

The preceding report was adopted by the convention, March 3, 1786, and subscription books were soon after prepared and circulated, of which the following is a copy:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

We, the subscribers, having determined to settle a tract of the western territory, do jointly and severally agree to abide by the following rules and regulations.

Article 1. That at the next meeting there shall be chosen a standing committee, secretary, treasurer, and such other officers, for conducting the Company's affairs, as shall be thought proper.

Article 2. Every proprietor shall punctually attend all meetings, after having such notice, given him by the secretary, as shall at all times by the Company be judged sufficient; and every proprietor who shall neglect to attend, after notice as aforesaid, shall be held to abide by all regulations, expenses, etc., agreed on at said meeting, under forfeiture of his share of land, and whatever expenses he may have been at.

Article 3. All matters respecting the affairs of the Company shall be determined by the majority of the proprietors present at any regular meeting.

Article 4. Several persons, good judges of land, shall be appointed by the Company, to go under their direction to the western territory, for the purpose of pitching upon the most eligible spot for a settlement, and shall be empowered to call on Congress upon their return, and agree for the same, if they like the terms.

Article 5. That, as soon as convenient after their return, a meeting be called, and they give a minute account of their proceedings, and expenses, and that all expenses necessarily incurred be defrayed by the Company.

Article 6. A certain sum (to be agreed upon) shall be paid to the treasurer, to enable him to defray such necessary expenses as may accrue, which sum shall be in proportion to the quantity of land subscribed for by each proprietor—no expenses, however, to be disbursed by the treasurer but by the direction of the Company at a regular meeting.

Article 7. Every future proprietor shall bear his proportion of whatever expenses the Company shall have been at, at the time of his subscribing.

Article 8. A draft shall be taken of the Company's lands when purchased, in which the most suitable spot for a city shall be reserved.

Article 9. The townships shall be laid out in lots of one, two, and three hundred acres, and no lot shall contain more than three hundred nor less than one hundred acres.

Article 10. The city shall be so laid out that each proprietor may hold land in it, in proportion to what he holds in the country.

Article 11. Each member of the committee shall have a subscription paper, and as soon as a sufficient number shall have subscribed a general meeting shall be called for the purpose of distributing the lands.

Article 12. The distribution to be made in the following manner, (viz :) the townships to be named, the lots in the city and each township to be numbered; then take a number of papers equal to the number of one hundred acre lots, with the name of the township on one side, and the number of the lot on the other; when this is done let them be put into a box, shaken together and drawn therefrom by each subscriber for an hundred acre lot, and no other; proceed in the same manner with the two and three hundred acre lots, each subscriber drawing from the box containing the number of acres he subscribed for, until the whole be finished.

Article 13. If any person or persons, subscribers for an hundred acre lot or lots, are not able to transport their effects, etc., thither, they shall on application to the company (if approved of) be assisted.

Article 14. Each proprietor shall put on a settler for every three hundred acres he possesses, within a certain time fixed on by the company, or shall forfeit as much of his lands as is not settled in the above manner.

Article 15. Officers and soldiers who shall have lands due to them from Congress shall be allowed to become proprietors, they complying with the foregoing articles.

Article 16. That foreigners, who are persons of property, or having good recommendations, be allowed to become proprietors, they complying as before mentioned.

Article 17. Each person at the time he subscribes shall pay to the committee six shillings for every hundred acres he subscribes for, in order to forward and pay the expenses of the committee mentioned in the 4th article, and shall at a time hereafter to be fixed on by the company, pay such further sums as shall then be thought necessary (on every hundred acres he subscribes for) into the treasury for the use of the company to be expended as provided in the 6th article, and shall pay his purchase-money at such time or times as shall be determined by the company, or forfeit the sums he may have paid for the use of the company.

Article 18. All lands purchased by the company shall be laid out into such lots as to make them in quality or quantity as equal in value as possible.

Article 19. In order to save expense in conducting the business of the company, subscribers for forty shares may form themselves into a division, and may appoint and empower an agent to transact their business in said company, whose doings in their behalf shall be valid.

Article 20. The treasurer, agents, and committees shall be accountable to the company for the moneys they shall receive, and for the faithful discharge of their trust, in all respects, in such manner as shall be determined by the company.

[*Subscribers' Names.*]

"Boston, March 4, 1786. The convention resolved, that Colonel Hull, Major Sargent, and Captain Mills be a committee to transact the necessary business of The Ohio Company until the directors are chosen.

They are to open a correspondence with any gentlemen whom they may think likely to encourage the company's designs and forward the completion of the funds proposed, in such a way and manner as they shall judge best calculated to effect the same.

They shall notify the place for the agents to meet, for the purpose of choosing directors, etc., on the 7th day of October next, or as much sooner as they may suppose necessary for the interest of the company.

They shall also hold communications and receive reports as often as conveniently can be from those gentlemen collecting subscriptions."

[*To Major Sargent.**]

IPSWICH, *March* 24, 1786.

Sir:—I had the honor yesterday of receiving your favor of the 11th inst., inclosing the Articles of Association. You have much obliged me by this communication. I shall make every exertion in my power to obtain subscriptions as soon as I receive a paper for that purpose. In the meantime, shall embrace every opportunity for acquainting such persons with the Articles and quality of the country (as far as I have obtained information) as are disposed to favor our plan. Not being furnished with either the articles or a plan of the country, have delayed making much inquiry with respect to subscribers, but I find a number, and some of them of considerable property, inclined to become adventurers.

Major Porter, of Wenham, will join us, and probably afford much assistance in obtaining good men for settling the country. He is frequently in Boston, where you will doubtless have opportunity for conversing with him.

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* Major Winthrop Sargent was born at Gloucester, Mass., May 1, 1753; graduated at Harvard College, 1771. He served with credit during the Revolutionary War as captain of artillery, and on staff duty with the rank of major. In 1786 he surveyed one of the seven ranges in the North-west Territory, directed by Congress. He was secretary of the Ohio Company, and was associated with Dr. Cutler in the purchase of land for the Company. He was appointed by Congress Secretary of the North-west Territory in 1787, and removed there in 1788, and February 6, 1789, married at Marietta, Rowena, daughter of General Benjamin Tupper. She died in 1790, leaving no children. He served as adjutant-general to St. Clair's army in 1791, and was severely wounded. He was also adjutant-general to General Wayne in 1794. Major Sargent, having received the appointment of Governor of Mississippi Territory, resigned in 1798 his office as Secretary and removed to Natchez, where he married a second wife; and died while on a voyage to Philadelphia, June 3, 1820.

The Ohio country is so little known in this part of the Commonwealth, that the people greatly need information with respect to its situation and the qualities of the lands. They are constantly emigrating into the northern frozen deserts; but were they made sensible of the fertility and temperature of the climate in the Ohio country, they would turn their faces to the southward. Such authentic accounts as can be obtained and published from time to time in the newspapers, I am persuaded, would be useful, particularly extracts from Captain Hutchins' pamphlet. You are near the press, and can furnish the most valuable intelligence. Hall's and Adams' and Nourse's papers circulate principally in this part of the country, and either of them, I doubt not, will insert whatever you may request.

It appears to me, our first object must be to try the success of subscriptions, which will very much depend on the favorable opinion the people entertain of the country. Fear of the savages and the distance from connections seem to be the only objections I have heard any person make, but the flattering prospects so fine a country opens to their view, and the numbers that will engage in the first settlements, in a great measure obviate them.

Please to favor me with a subscription paper as soon as may be. I wish to be informed what the prospects are in other parts of the Commonwealth. I shall do myself the pleasure of informing you with respect to this county by every opportunity.

Your letter did not arrive seasonably enough for me to have waited on you while at Cape Ann, but you would have made me very happy if you had made my house in your way, in going or returning. Should you make another journey, pray be so kind as to call upon me. It will be very little out of your way, and will confer a very great favor on him who has the honor to be,

With every sentiment of respect,
Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,
M. Cutler.

P. S.—I have this moment received a map from Mr.

Williams, and shall now have it in my power to point out to inquirers the situation of the country.

MAJOR SARGENT.

[*To Major Sargent.*]

IPSWICH, *April* 20, 1786.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 7th instant from Gloucester should have received an earlier answer, but a multiplicity of avocations has put it out of my power. I much regret the failure of your horse, as it has deprived me of the pleasure of seeing you previous to your tour westward. It is a source of pleasing reflection to me that you intend to see the country yourself, for from your own observations you will be able to furnish the adventurers with the best intelligence, and to point out the most proper mode for carrying on the first settlement. The time has been so short since I received the necessary materials for giving information and the subscription papers, that I can hardly form a tolerable judgment what number of subscriptions I shall be able to obtain. Present appearances are very promising. Eight or ten shares are subscribed for and engaged already, and I entertain no doubt of filling up the number of one grand division in a short time. I think it is not extravagant to expect that I shall be able to fill up two. One of the subscription pamphlets you sent me I have forwarded to a friend in New Hampshire, where, I am told, there are a number determined to emigrate, and wish for information respecting the Ohio country.

The present prospects for obtaining subscriptions in this part of the country so much exceed my most sanguine expectations, that I think we ought to be cautious about admitting adventurers from the southward. New England settlers will certainly be the best, and some time will be absolutely necessary for diffusing information of the plan and prospect, and for making a fair experiment of the success of subscriptions. The people wish to know more about the country, and many of them are anxious to see it. Several have requested that they may be permitted to go as laborers, if the company hire men, at the first taking possession. Those of my subscribers who are smart, able men, I have told shall have an equal chance with other proprietors, and have ventured to assure them that none will be admitted to go as such but those who intend to settle in the country.

I am informed there are two or three other petty companies forming with views of carrying on settlements in the western states. I have been able to get but little information about them. Should there be any men of consequence at the head of them, it will, I apprehend, be good policy to connect them with this association. This I shall make a matter of inquiry.

You have much obliged me by your kind offer to assist me in my botanical and other inquiries in the several branches of natural history. Should you meet with any thing new or curious, either in the fossil, vegetable, or mineral kingdoms, I should be happy to receive specimens or descriptions. The blossoms of vegetables with two or three leaves are the parts of vegetables I wish most to see. The best way of preserving them is to open the blossom and press it between two pieces of clean paper, taking care that all the parts within the blossom be preserved, and the time of blooming and place of growth be noted.

The more I contemplate the prospect opened by this association, the more I feel myself inclined to take an active part in carrying on the settlement and to be one of the first emigrants. An early attempt to cultivate in that country a number of foreign vegetable productions appears to me a matter of consequence—among others, the Indian tea, Japan varnish tree, and European grapes. I have no doubt the tea seed—perhaps plants, too, may be obtained from the East Indies in a vegetative state. And I think much attention ought to be paid in forming a good plan for locating the first settlements. It will be very desirable to begin the settlement next spring, and in order to obtain a crop of grain the first year, they ought to be on the ground very early in the spring, could the lands be purchased early enough. Should think it much the best for them to go on in the fall, so as to build their huts before winter. They may then improve every opportunity during the winter for clearing the land, so as to sow their grain early in the spring. But I very much fear that matters will not be right for beginning a settlement next summer.

Should you and Captain Mills go to the southward, there will be most certainly occasion for a temporary supply of your places in the Committee, and ought to be, I should think, gentlemen in or near Boston, who can with convenience hold frequent meetings. You are much the best judge who will be the most proper for such an appointment. You may depend on my giving frequent accounts to the Committee at Boston of the success of my subscriptions. You will do me a particular favor by writing when opportunities present while you are on your tour.

I have the honor to be, with greatest respect,
Sir, your most obedient servant,
M. CUTLER.

P. S.—If you should meet with the Comte de Castiglioni, who is making the tour of the southern states, please to present him my most respectful compliments; also the compliments of Dr. Stokes, of Great Britain, from whom I have lately received a letter. And be so kind as to inform the Comte that I have a collection of vegetable specimens for him, and will convey them to any place he shall desire, together with a volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy.

MAJOR WINTHROP SARGENT.

"Boston, 8th March, 1787. Brackett's Tavern. At a meeting of the Ohio Company, called this 8th day of March, 1787, by special advertisement, it appearing that two hundred and fifty shares in the Company's funds were subscribed for, and that there are at this time in the commonwealths of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, many inclined to become adventurers who are restrained only by the uncertainty of obtaining a sufficient tract of country collectively for a great settlement.

"It was unanimously Resolved, that three Directors should be appointed for the Company, and that it should be their duty, immediately, to make application to the Honorable Congress for a private purchase of *Lands*, and under such descriptions as they shall deem adequate to the purposes of the Company. General Samnel H. Parsons, General Rufus Putnam, and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler were unanimously chosen."

Dr. Cutler was confined to his bed by sickness March 5th to 10th, and did not attend this meeting. Of the two hundred and fifty shares subscribed, he had obtained over one hundred. This fact probably led to his appointment as a director.

[*To Major Sargent.*]

IPSWICH, *March* 16, 1787.

My Dear Sir:—Yours of the 12th instant, inclosing the resolves of the Ohio Company, and copy of General Putnam's letter, has been handed me. The honor conferred by the suffrages of the company in appointing me one of their directors will not fail, I trust, of inducing me to make every exertion in my power for carrying into immediate execution the designs of the institution.

I entirely approve of the propositions which General Putnam proposes should be made to Congress, and join with him in requesting General Parsons to make application to that honorable body, as soon as possible. I have the fullest confidence that the negotiations will be conducted by him in a manner the most advantageous to the company.

The high price at which Congress have set their lands, in their land ordinance, I have found to operate much against subscriptions for the company, and has hitherto prevented many valuable persons from becoming adventurers. The lands of this state being sold in the eastern country at half a dollar per acre, and the distance being small compared with that of the Ohio, a considerable number of families in this part of the Massachusetts have been induced to make purchases eastward, who would have preferred going to the Ohio, had the lands been set at the same price. For the same reason many in New Hampshire are turning their attention eastward. If Congress will accede to either of the propositions proposed by General Putnam I doubt not our company would be immediately filled with valuable adventurers, and a large proportion from this part of the country; for the spirit of emigration never ran higher with us, and the Ohio lands are held in the highest estimation. Could the lands be immediately purchased on either of the propositions made by General Putnam, I have no doubt but that the subscriptions would go on rapidly in this part of the country. A large number of very considerable property and respectable characters have assured me that, as almost every kind of business is stagnated here, they would become adventurers in our company, and immediately remove on to the lands, provided they could be purchased on terms as advantageous as those sold by this state. Many others are under the necessity of migrating from our old towns, as the lands are all under improvements, and the inhabitants so multiplied, as to be unable to obtain a living from them. They are therefore securing purchases as fast as possible. It is of the greatest consequence to the company that the purchase should be made as soon as possible, and a plan concerted for settlers to go upon them. It is much to be wished, though I fear it is impracticable, that some settlers might go on this spring. With regard to the place of location General Parsons and General Putnam are judges. I think it of importance that they should be in one body. By including the army lands within the boundary lines of the company the settlement of both would be accelerated.

Of the two propositions which General Putnam proposes, I should prefer the last; and the low state of the finances of Congress I should suppose would induce them to comply with it. For the settlement can then commence much earlier than if the company must wait until Congress has completed the survey. The expense to the company will be less than to Congress, as the greater part of the surveying may be done after the settlements are begun. But if Congress should prefer surveying the lands at their own expense, I should not be willing, at present, to offer more than half a dollar per acre.

Among Dr. Cutler's papers is the draft of a letter to the Hon. Nathan Dane.* It is as follows:

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* Nathan Dane was born in Ipswich, Mass., 1752, graduated at Harvard College, 1778. He was four years—1782 to 1786—a member of the Massachusetts General Court; was a delegate to Congress, 1785 to 1787; member of the State Senate of Massachusetts, 1790 to 1798; was an

March 16, 1787.

There being a large number of persons who intend to be adventurers in company, in this part of Massachusetts and in New Hampshire, provided a purchase of lands can be made that will be agreeable to them, I beg leave to address you on the subject. General Parsons will make application to Congress, in the name of the other directors, in order to make the purchase for the company, and will propose terms which have been agreed to by the other directors. The directors entertain hopes that Congress, notwithstanding their land ordinance, will not refuse to make a private sale to this company, as it will greatly accelerate the settlement, save the company a large expense, and enable them to purchase the whole in one body.

The high price at which Congress have set the federal lands has operated much against the company; for the lands belonging to this, and several of the other states, are sold at half a dollar per acre, which is the highest price the company will give for the lands on the Ohio. Though the federal lands may be of a better quality, yet their distance from the northward states, and the hazards to which the first settlers must be exposed in the neighborhood of numerous tribes of Indians, are no small discouragements to adventurers, and will be admitted, I conceive, as a reason for lowering the price. An immediate and great settlement must be an object of consequence in the view of Congress, and settlers from the northern states, in which this company is made up, are undoubtedly preferable to those from the southern states. They will be men of more robust constitutions, inured to labor, and free from the habits of idleness. The fertility of the soil, and mildness of the climate, will be strong encouragements to make the greatest exertions in improvements of the land on their first settling them. And in proportion to the magnitude of the settlement and improvements made, both the lands reserved for after

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elector for President in 1812, and a member of the Hartford Convention in 1814. "He is said to have been distinguished by his ability in debate, knowledge of public business, and capacity for discharging it, and the uprightness and correctness of his views." He died 15th February, 1835.—*See Stone's History of Beverly.*

sales, and those adjacent, must rise in their value, and the demand for them be increased.

If the lands could be immediately purchased on the terms the Company propose, we have the fullest assurance that the subscription for one million of dollars will be completed in a short time. Many of the subscribers are men of very considerable property and respectable characters, who intend (for the Company admit no other) to become residents in that country. The spirit of emigration never ran higher with us than at this time, owing, in a great measure, to the general stagnation of business. If they are disappointed in their expectations westward, will turn their attention to some other quarter.

Will it not be for the interest of Congress, after running the boundary lines of the tract the Company wish to purchase by their own surveyors, to permit the Company to survey their own lands, and to fix the price accordingly? This, I conceive, would expedite the settlement, and save expense to the States. Should such a proposal be acceded to, I see not why the settlement could not commence immediately, for, as soon as the general boundaries are agreed on, men might be immediately sent on to lands that are entirely within those bounds. It is the wish of the Company, and an object of great consequence with them, to send on a party of settlers this spring, and nothing but delays in making the contract with Congress will prevent. We should be happy in obtaining your influence in favor of the Company, and have the fullest confidence of your readiness to second the wishes of so large a number of the inhabitants of the New England States, so far as is consistent with the general interest of the Union.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

HON. NATHAN DANE, ESQ. M. CUTLER.

You are doubtless acquainted with the institution of a Company in the New England States by the name of the Ohio Company, for the purpose of making a large settlement on the federal lands on the river Ohio.

[*Putnam and Cutler to Major Sargent.*.]

BOSTON, *May* 30, 1787.

Dear Sir:—The Company have held a meeting and taken into consideration the letter from General Parsons. We cannot, on any consideration, accede to the location proposed by him to Congress, as it must defeat us in many of our most important views. We are fully in opinion that the most advantageous situation will be nearly where we first proposed, and wish, if possible, to have our eastern bounds on the line of the seventh range of townships and our western on the line Congress have fixed as the western boundary of the State of Washington, then to extend northerly, so as to include the quantity of lands which the Company shall wish to purchase. We must insist, at least, that our eastern line should be bounded on the Muskingum. If this can not be obtained, we think of giving up the idea of making a purchase as a company. Our prospects are such that we have little doubt of extending our subscription to a greater number of shares than is proposed in our Articles of Association, and an immediate settlement should be made. We propose one of us to visit General Parsons, and, if necessary, go on to Congress immediately after we are informed that there is a sufficient representation for completing our business. Our principal fears of a disappointment are that Congress may dispose of those lands before it will be in our power to apply for them. We therefore beg you to do every thing in your power to obtain the lands where we proposed; and to suggest to some of the most influential members, in whom confidence can be placed, where our Company wishes to make their purchase; and that, if they are disappointed, the Company will give up the idea of making the purchase at all; and that they will endeavor to prevent the disposal of those lands until the Company can have opportunity to make application. We think some caution may be necessary in placing confidence, particularly with respect to members from this commonwealth. We can, however, confide in your prudence in this matter. We likewise think it best, as there seems to be ground to suppose General P——s may have views separate from the interest of this Company in his proposal for a location, that he should have no information of our desire to have it in another place until we have opportunity to converse with him on the subject. We beg you to give us the earliest information when Congress are sufficiently represented for our purposes, if it takes place before you leave New York; if not before your departure, that you will request some friend there to inform us after you leave the City. We refer you to Captain Mills for further information,

And are, with the highest esteem, sir,
Your most obedient, humble servants,
MAJOR SARGENT. RUFUS PUTNAM,
MANNASSEH CUTLER.

Jan. 1, *Mon., to Jan.* 6, *Sat*, 1787. Reading Linnæus' Syst. Nat. on Animals.

Jan. 8–13. Men sent for to oppose the insurrection in the western counties of this Commonwealth.

Jan. 15, *Mon.* Militia company called together in order to get men for opposing the insurrection. I read to the people, at 10 o'clock, the Address from the General Court; and then addressed them on the nature of our Constitutional Government, and the present dangerous state of our affairs, and endeavored to point out the consequences of opposition to the laws.

Jan. 16, *Tues.* The men marched to Cambridge.

[Dr. Whitney, who was actively engaged on sea and land, in the service of his country, during the Revolutionary War, now again drew his sword and marched against the insurgents. The following letter from him to Dr. Cutler, giving a graphic account of the campaign, has been preserved]:

PETERSHAM, *February* 6, 1787.

REV. MR. MANASSEH CUTLER.

Dear Sir:—Beg your pardon for not writing before, but we have not tarried long enough in one place to scrawl two lines. Shall now only give you a narrative of our route since leaving Ipswich, which, you remember, was on Wednesday morning.

We went to Boston, and conversed with General Lincoln,* who ordered Colonel Wade's Regiment to rendezvous at Woburn, where we arrived Thursday evening, and remained till Saturday morning; then marched to Concord, and quartered. Sunday morning we marched for Marlborough, where we joined General Lincoln, with his detachment, and marched to Worcester, where we tarried till Wednesday morning, and then marched on toward Springfield.

While on our march we had an express from General Shepherd to hasten on with all speed. Shays, with a party of about fifteen or sixteen hundred, approached General Shepherd's lines. The General sent a flag, wishing to know what he would have. Shays informed the messenger that he, with his men, determined to lodge in the Barracks at Springfield. Upon which the General drew a line, and forbid his marching over; which, if he did, should certainly fire upon him. Shays, with his heretofore known folly, still kept on his march till he had exceeded the bounds prescribed. General Shepherd then ordered the artillery to fire two cannon—one on the right and the other on the left—which they paid no regard to. Then orders were given to fire among them; upon which three of Shays' men were killed and one wounded, and they retreated with haste and disorder, leaving their dead and wounded upon the spot.

General Lincoln continued his march, and arrived at Springfield Saturday afternoon. Soon after we had taken quarters we were summoned to parade, in order to attack a party at West Springfield, commanded by one Day, of about five hundred men. As soon as our Advance Guard, with a small party of Light Horse, came on to the river, their Picket Guard, which was kept at the other side of the river, ran like foxes, leaving their guns behind. Some of them arrived at the Meeting House, where the main body paraded with all speed, and betook themselves to the bush with confusion. Our Light Horse followed them, picking up of them about forty or fifty, which were brought to Headquarters, and, upon taking the Oath, were discharged. A number of sleighs with provisions were taken at the same time.

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* General Benjamin Lincoln, a distinguished Revolutionary officer; born at Hingham, Mass., 1733; died there, 1810. In 1787 he commanded the forces that suppressed Shays' insurrection.

Day's party reached Northampton that night about 12 o'clock, much fatigued. Upon their route they came across a small guard at Northampton Bridge, and were fired upon, which much surprised them, and in their confusion fired upon them again, and shot one of their own Adjutants through the head. The next day they left Northampton, and joined Shays' party at Pelham.

General Lincoln marched Monday morning, and arrived at Old Hadley in the evening. Here we remained till Saturday evening, in which time Shays sent in several flags, desiring a general pardon. If granted, they would resign up their arms, and become good and peaceable subjects to government. General Lincoln returned Printed Letters (which you must have seen a copy of in the Boston Papers), if they would deliver up the Leaders he would recommend them to Court for mercy; which did not please them. On Saturday morning Shays, with about fifteen or sixteen hundred men, left Pelham and marched to Petersham, about thirty miles; upon which General Lincoln forced a march upon them Saturday night, in a violent snow-storm and severe cold, so that many were frozen. We reached Petersham by sunrise, which put them to flight with the loss of about 200 men, which fell into our hands, with considerable of their baggage. They have gone over into Hampshire Government, just over the line. We expect to march immediately.

Express just arrived from Boston, declaring the three counties, viz., Hampshire, Berkshire, and Worcester, in a state of rebellion. Now we can fire upon the insurgents wherever we find them. What the event of all this will be must leave for others to determine. This evening six pieces of Artillery, with Colonel Sterns' Regiment, have been dismissed, and have marched for their respective homes. You will excuse this imperfect narrative, and all blunders, which am convinced are many.

My best regards to Mrs. Cutler and family. Hope Fortune is upon his legs by this. Beg a line from you by the first opportunity.

From your sincere friend and humble Serv't,

E. Whitney.

P. S.—Colonel Wade, with the rest of our family, join in regards to Rev. Mr. Cutler and Lady.

Jan. 31, *Wed.* Attended the meeting of the Academy, in the hall of the Bank. Dined with his Excellency the Governor, Mr. Bowdoin. Spent the evening at Mr. Everett's, with a large number of gentlemen.

Feb. 1, *Thurs.* Attended the meeting of the Committee of Agriculture. Chose our officers for the year ensuing. Dined with Major Irving. Spent the evening with Major Sargent and Colonel Waters.

Feb. 20–23. Preparing letters, and pamphlets of my Botanical Paper for Europe.

Feb. 24, *Sat.* Sent my packet for Europe to Boston. It is to go to Philadelphia, to the care of Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Jr.

Feb. 26, *Mon.* Went to Salem, with Mr. Haradan, to observe the manner of hanging the (church) bell.

Feb. 27, 28. Getting timber for hanging the bell.

Mar. 1, 2, 3. Busy in assisting about hanging the bell.

Mar. 5–10. Confined to the house by an inflammation on the glands of my mouth and throat.

Mar. 11, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Very unwell. Went to meeting with my muffler.

Mar. 12, *Mon.* Went to Boston in my sleigh. Mr. Prince rode with me.

Mar. 14, *Wed.* Attended a meeting of the Academy and settled the matter of the Volume.

[Dr. Cutler's love of nature led him to be very observant of her processes. This spring he carefully notes the time of blossoming of a number of trees and plants.]

April 2, *Mon.* Dogwood appeared in blossom.

Apr. 3–7. Observed Skunk Cabbage in blossom. Anemone Hepat. in bloom.

Apr. 9–12. Alders in bloom. Hazlenut in bloom.

Apr. 13. Elms in bloom.

Apr. 17, *Tues.* Mrs. Cutler and I went to Mr. Fuller's. Brought home Bear's-bush and two species of Sumach.

Apr. 18. Juniper in bloom.

Apr. 20, *Fri.* Went into the woods after specimens of birds and plants. Obtained many birds, but plants were few of them in bloom. Brought home the savin and bear's-foot, and planted them in garden.

Apr. 21, *Sat.* Maple in bloom.

Apr. 23. Lilac buds advanced so as to open and leaves appear. Pine buds advanced; also beech buds and pitch-pine.

Apr. 27, *Fri.* Mr. Swain's lecture. Mr. McKeen and I attended. I preached.

May 8, *Tues.* Ministers' meeting at Mr. Holt's; very full. I preached. An agreeable day.

May 19, *Sat.* Dr. Holyoke and Dr. Osgood here from Salem; also Mr. Williams and Mr. Hichborn, from Boston.

May 20, *Lord's Day.* Preached. After meeting rode to Cape Ann. Mr. Williams married. Mr. Forbes and I assisted each other in the ceremony.

May 29, *Tues.* At Boston. Meeting of the Academy. Dined at Governor Bowdoin's. Attended a meeting of the Ohio Company.

May 30, *Wed.* Election. Dined at Governor Hancock's.

May 31, *Thurs.* Convention. Dined at Dr. Howard's. Spent the evening at Mr. Belknap's.

June 6, *Wed.* Mrs. C. and I went to Salem. Dined and lodged at Captain Peele's. Spent the evening at Dr. Holyoke's.

June 12, *Tues.* At ministers' meeting at Mr. Swain's. Mr. Forbes, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Parsons, and Mr. Porter also present. Mr. Parsons preached a very good sermon.

June 23, *Sat.* Preparing for a journey to New York.

[The application of General Parsons to Congress for land having failed, Dr. Cutler proceeded, under the authority conferred by a Resolution of the Company, to make a "private purchase of lands of the Honorable Congress." At the request of his children, Dr. Cutler wrote out from his notes the full account of his journey to New York and Philadelphia found in the following chapters.]

CHAPTER VI.

JOURNEY TO NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA, 1787.*

Sunday, June 24. Exchanged with Mr. Parsons, of Lynn. After meeting, called on John Carnes, Esq., to receive his commands, if any, for New York. Rode to Cambridge; spent the evening at Dr. Willard's, in company with Mr. Winthrop, the Librarian. Proposed going to President Willard's, but the Doctor insisted on my lodging with him, which I did.

Monday, June 25. Waited on Dr. Willard this morning, who favored me with a number of introductory letters to gentlemen at the southward. Received several from Dr. Williams, and went with him to Boston. Fare at the bridge, 8*d*.

Received letters of introduction from Governor Bowdoin, Mr. Winthrop, Dr. Warren, Dr. Dexter, Mr. Guild, Mr. Belknap, etc. Conversed with General Putnam. Received letters. Settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company. Received introductory letters from Mr. Emory, particularly one for Mons. Mechard, the French Botanist in the Jerseys.

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* A manuscript copy of the original of Dr. Cutler's journal of his visit to New York and Philadelphia fell into the hands of Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta, many years since, and he made out a copy and placed it in the Hildreth Cabinet in Marietta College. He also prepared numerous notes relating to prominent persons mentioned in the journal. Through the courtesy of Dr. I. W. Andrews, of the college, the reader will have the benefit of Dr. Hildreth's labors to the extent of such notes as are marked (Dr. S. P. Hildreth). The following observations, made by Dr. Hildreth, found at the close of his copy, give his own impressions and estimate of the value of such a record: "The above brief sketches of the more prominent men named in Dr. Cutler's journal have been written to show how honorable and distinguished were the persons with whom he had intercourse, and from whom he received the most marked attentions, bearing testimony to the worth and excellence of the character of Dr. Cutler. The whole of the journal discovers the writer to have been a man of no ordinary talents, and remarkable for his acuteness in discovering the abilities and qualities of the men with whom he had intercourse, as well as his refined taste in describing the objects of art or of nature that came under his notice. The journal is a model of excellence in the style of writing, well worth preserving for future ages."

Left Boston for Dedham at half-after six; made a stage at Major Whiting's, in Roxbury; bill, 8*d.* Arrived at Mr. Chickering's at eleven; all in bed. However, Mr. and Mrs. Chickering got up, and we spent a tolerably long evening after this before we went to bed.

Tuesday, June 26. Went on this morning for Providence. Stage at Mann's, Wrentham. Dined; bill, 2*s.* 2*d.* Stage at Dogget's, Attleborough; bill, 6*d.* Arrived at Mr. Hitchcock's, at Providence, at 6 o'clock. Very kindly received. A large circle of ladies on a visit, and one or two gentlemen; among others, Mrs. Jones, wife of Mr. Coffin Jones, of Boston, to whom he has been lately married. She was an English lady, whose mother came from London since the war, and settled at Newport, in Rhode Island.

This lady distinguished herself by the ease and politeness of her manners, her good sense and most engaging sociability. The two Mrs. Bowens were of the company, both remarkable for good sense and entertaining conversation. The gentlemen were Mr. Mumford, Mr. Benson, and afterward, Dr. Bowen and Mr. Nightingale. We spent the evening in the most agreeable sociability, with less impertinence and more instructive and sentimental remarks than is commonly found in circles of this kind. Were I disposed to indulge envy at the happy lot of my friends, I should certainly indulge it with respect to the agreeable situation and circumstances of Mr. Hitchcock. His house is elegant—most delightfully situated on an eminence that overlooks the town. A support that enables him to live in a style above the most of his brother clergymen, and, what I should prize far more than any other enjoyment, a large circle of acquaintances, with whom he can indulge every rational freedom, and from whom he is receiving every mark of attention and generosity. But envy, the bane of human happiness, can never alleviate our sorrows, soften our cares, or make the smallest amends for our own inconveniences.

Divine Providence, all wise in its dispensations, though unfathomable by us, has allotted us different portions of the means of happiness in this world. We have no ground for complaint, and our only relief is to rejoice in the happiness of our friends. We then secure to ourselves a share of what Heaven has given to them and denied to us.

The company went away at eleven, after which brother Hitchcock and I chatted over old affairs and new prospects till after one, when we retired to bed.

Wednesday, June 27. This morning I received a polite invitation from Governor Bowen, in the name of a large company, to join them in a Turtle frolic, six miles out of town. Mr. Hitchcock and the other clergymen of the town were of the party, but, much against my inclination, I was obliged to excuse myself. Spending my time in Turtle frolics would very illy comport with the long journey and public business I had undertaken. As I went out of town, Mr. Hitchcock and I waited on Governor Bowen. I informed him that it was my wish to visit the famous steam engine at Cranston, of which he is one of the proprietors. He proposed excusing himself from going with the Turtle party, and riding out with me to the engine, eight miles from Providence; but as it must have deprived him and the company of so much pleasure as they had then in prospect, I insisted on his not thinking of it, and went on myself to Cranston. To go to the furnace and engine was eight miles, nearly, out of my way, and a road I had never traveled; but my curiosity was so much excited by the description of so singular a machine, and the only one in America, that I could not deny myself the pleasure of viewing it.

I arrived at the ore-beds at 12 o'clock. The engine was at work, raising water from a well 80 feet deep. The iron flue is 2½ feet wide and 6 feet long, with a square hearth at the mouth, secured from fire by large, thick, iron plates. On the back part of the flue is a winding funnel, which passes into a chimney on the back part of the building. A wooden boiler of 6 feet diameter is placed above the flue, which is constantly kept full of water when the engine is in motion. The boiler rises above the first story of the building, much in the form of the large cisterns in distilleries, where it receives at the top the condensing cylinder, 2½ feet in diameter, and made of plated iron. From this cylinder a large worm passes with many windings down the boiler. The valve that passes into this cylinder is more than 2 feet in diameter, and rises and descends by means of an iron rod made fast to one end of the large beam. Around the top of the boiler are numerous leaden pipes, some connected with the condenser and some not, furnished with stop-cocks for admitting and excluding air or water, as necessary in working the machine; but they are too numerous and complicated to admit of any description from a mere view of the machine. A large reservoir of water is placed in the third loft of the house, constantly affording water to the works below, and as constantly supplied (with a pump for the purpose), by the working of the machine. The large beam is a massive piece of timber, near 4 feet in diameter and 20 feet long, being two very large oak timbers nicely forged together. It moves on a large iron bolt in the center, like the beam of scales, and has two arching timbers at each end forming the segments of a circle, along which two chains of a prodigious size play as the beam moves. One of these chains leads to the piston or valve of the condenser, and the other, at the opposite end, to the pumps in the well. There are four cold water pipes, one feeding pipe, and one venting pipe. By the same motion of the beam which raises the water out of the well, all these pipes open or close, by the means of stop-cocks and valves, as the design of them requires. There are two large pumps in the well, which is 80 feet deep and 23 feet wide. The sides of wells are supported by large timbers, laid horizontal, so as to make the form of the wells quintangular, and the ends of the timbers let into one another. The engine raises 7 hogsheads of water in a minute, and the flue consumes 2 cords of wood in twenty-four hours. The immense weight of the beam, the cast-iron wheels, large chains, and other weighty parts of the works, occasion a most tremendous noise and trembling of the large building in which it is erected, when the machine is in motion. By the sides of the well from which the water is drawn are two other wells of the same form, 70 feet deep. These are sunk down in the bed of ore; and in these are the workmen, about ten or twelve in number, digging ore. The ore is raised in large buckets, which hold about one ton weight, let down and drawn up by large chains, carried from the well to a large capstan, which is constantly turned by an ox. As one bucket rises, another goes down. These wells are kept dry by the water continually drawing off into the well where the pumps are fixed, and the pumps keep the water below the height where the men work. This curious machine was made under the direction of Mr. Joseph Brown, of Providence, and is a standing proof of the abilities of that able philosopher. The invention was not new, but he has made many valuable improvements, in simplifying and making the working of it more convenient, above what has yet been done in Europe. It cost upward of one thousand pounds sterling. Baited my horse; 8*d.*

Returned to Knight's tavern, and dined. Bill, 2*s.* Shoeing my horse, 5*d.* Next stage Waterman's, in Johnson; bill, 6*d.* Lodged at Owen's tavern, in Gloucester. Rode to-day 27 miles. Providence is 75 miles from Ipswich Hamlet, which gives my distance, as I have traveled, 102 miles.

Thursday, June 28. My bill this morn, 2*s.* 6*d.* Stage at Mahunganug, Bussey's tavern. Bill, 6*d.* Arrived at my father's at 11 o'clock. All well. My father in much better health, and more able to attend to his business, than I expected to find him. He is able to assist in getting in hay, and other farming work, which he does of choice, though turned of 80. In the afternoon I preached a lecture for Mr. Atkins. Spent the evening with him, Esq. Howe, and a number of my old acquaintances. This is 11 miles from Owen's tavern, and my distance 113 miles from home.

Friday, June 29. This morning set out from my father's for Hartford. My first stage Judge Randal's tavern, at Ashford, 13 miles. The Judge was very handy, for a country tavern-keeper, in taking my horse out of the carriage, and very faithful in feeding him with hay and oats. If he made as good a judge, when on the bench, as he does an inn-keeper, he must have excelled many of his brethren in office. . . . 10 miles from Fulshaw's. Bill, 1*s.*

Stage at Esq. Clark's, Ashford; 8 miles. Bill, 8*d.*; horseshoeing, 1s. Clark keeps a good house; every thing is extremely neat, and the house appears to be well stored with every kind of refreshment a traveler can wish. This is one of those rare taverns in the country where town dwellers, horse jockeys, and tavern haunters never resort. From Ashford I went through a corner of Willington, and then through Mansfield, upper parish. Mansfield is bounded west by the Willimantic River, which empties itself into the Quinebaug below Windham, forming the Norwich River. Over Willimantic bridge is Coventry; and, at the foot of it, Bingham's tavern, where I lodged.

Rode this day through a fine, but very hilly part of the country. I no sooner descended one hill, than I had to ascend another. The hills are very long, but not steep; they are, however, intolerably rocky, and the roads wretchedly out of repair. From these hills the prospects are most delightful. Extensive farms in every direction, large fields of corn, grain, and mowing land; large orchards, and a great variety of fruit trees. Nature appears most luxuriant, and the cheerful laborers were beginning their first harvest. Grain of every species was fine, but Indian corn rather backward. The soil is rich, strong, and moist. Small streams of water are numerous. The whole of this part of the country is finely watered. I was pleased this day with seeing the farmers, in many instances, plowing among their corn with one ox, instead of a horse. Was this practice universally adopted, I am persuaded it would make a great saving to our farmers. Bingham's tavern is 12 miles from Clark's. The house, a wretched old shattered fabric; the man, rather a churlish clown, who affected to know what kind of keeping I chose for my horse much better than I knew myself. However, at length he condescended to give him the quantity of oats and hay I chose he should have; but I did not trust his honesty without seeing it done myself. His wife made a much better appearance. She is a good-looking woman, handsomely dressed, and very obliging, and seems to have deserved a better husband and a better house. She gave me a tolerable supper—certainly as good as the house afforded—a good bed, and clean sheets. Traveled this day 30 miles. Have now journeyed 140 miles.

Saturday, June 30. I rose this morning as soon as the daylight appeared, but so slow and bungling was my landlord that it was near sunrise before I stepped into my carriage; bill, 2*s.*

There was this morning a very bright fog bow in the west. The bow was completely formed a little after the sun had risen, and continued for some time. The breadth was about 10 minutes of a degree. There was the appearance of a rainy day, but the clouds in a little time dissipated.

Breakfasted at the widow Kimbal's, in Coventry, four miles from Bingham's. The house somewhat new and very spacious. The landlady is a thin favored, but a neat, spruce widow. My breakfast an excellent dish of green tea and a rasher of broiled shad. My horse this morning very lame again in his right foot. Bill, 1*s.* 3*d.*

In my way to East Hartford I passed through Bolton, and left the south parish, a very pretty village in plain view, on my left. In this town is what is usually called the notch of Hartford Mountains. The ends of two mountains of considerable height, one on each hand, seem to butt near the edge of the road, as though Nature had separated them on purpose for the accommodation of travelers, forming a narrow pass of nearly level ground, free from stones, and only a little wider than the road itself, while the two ends of the mountains form hideous precipices, jutting over the passengers' heads. From Bingham's to the notch the land is broken, hilly, and rocky; but the soil is rich, producing excellent grass, corn, grain, and orchards. After I passed the notch, the land is more level, free from stones, and somewhat sandy.

Made my next stage at Woodbridge's, East Hartford, six miles from the widow Kimbal's. This, I believe, is a good house, though I made but little use of it. Here I met with a man of great sagacity and remarkable complaisance, who, after taking off his hat, making several bows and scrapes with his foot, asked me if I was not the governor. This was truly characteristic of a Connecticut tavern. Bill, 3*d.*

Went on to Hartford in the southern road. My horse very lame, but the land level and the road very good. Crossed the ferry opposite to the city in a large, commodious boat, without taking my horse out of the carriage. The shipping on the city side of the river was much more considerable than when I was at college, twenty-two years ago. There were several very handsome brigs and schooners, employed in the West India trade. The river is about half a mile in width, and the rapidity of the stream considerable.

Made my stage at Pratt's tavern, nearly opposite the stage-house, and sign of the Bull, ten miles from Woodbridge's. My dinner was indifferent, and my companions at table, who appeared to be four sturdy Dutchmen, were as little to my taste. However, we were very Quakerish, every man attending closely to the business of eating, without uttering scarcely a word, until we had disposed of nearly every atom of food on the table, when we all parted in the same peaceable manner. This tavern seems to be remarkable for nothing but an elegant sign of a large fierce bull chained to a tree. My landlord very much alarmed me by saying he believed the lameness of my horse was in his shoulder, and that he had one in the same condition. I suspected, however, that he wished me to leave my horse with him and hire one of his for the journey. He sent for a farrier-blacksmith, who seemed to be in doubt where the lameness was; but he took off the shoe which had been set the day before, and, after setting it again, he traveled without limping in the least.

The city of Hartford is most delightfully situated, on high ground, and near the banks of a beautiful river. The prospect is extensive and the streets handsome. The main street, which is very straight and spacious, running the whole length of the city, is elegant. The houses are very large and many of them brick, with large shops of goods of every kind fronting the street. But the narrow bridge over the small river which runs through the city, crossing this street at right angles, greatly injures its appearance, and is truly disgusting. Bill, 1*s.* 10*d.*; horseshoeing, 8*d.*; barber, 9*d.* After dinner, I called on my classmate, Jona. Bull, Esq., one of the aldermen of the city, but did not get out of my carriage. I have not seen him, nor any of my classmates in this part of the country, since we commenced at college twenty-two years ago. I was surprised to find he knew me at some distance, for he was sitting in the stoop of the door. I certainly should not have recollected him, had I not known whom I expected to see. He very soon, however, appeared much the same he used to do, excepting the inroads that time had made on the features of his face. He urged me to spend some time with him, but it was not in my power.

I also called on my classmate, Colonel Hezekiah Wyllys.* He lives with his father, Colonel Wyllys, the Secretary of the State, in an elegant seat just outside the city, situated on a high eminence which overlooks the city and commands a most enchanting prospect of the river, meandering through rich meadows and fertile fields, for ten or fifteen miles. The landscape from this seat far exceeds any I have ever seen in any part of the country. My good old friend did not recognize me for some time, for I was determined not to tell him my name. At length he recollected me; and so much were his tender passions moved, that he could not refrain from tears. We had been particularly intimate at college, lived together two years in the same chamber, and the firmest friendship and affection had subsisted between us during the whole of our residence at college. Our attachment had been cemented by a similar taste for the same course of studies, which we generally pursued together, and were companions in our amusements and parties of pleasure. It was my intention not to alight; but such was his importunity, or rather force, that I could not withstand it. His lady, who is beautiful and amiable, received me with great politeness. She is much younger than himself, for he entered into the connubial state late in life, having been married but three years. We spent two or three hours in running over college scenes, which he seemed to dwell upon with peculiar

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*Col. Hezekiah Wyllys was the third son of Hon. George Wyllys and Mary, daughter of Rev. Timothy and Dorothy (Lamb) Woodbridge. Hezekiah was born 1747; graduated at Yale, 1765; Colonel of a Connecticut regiment in the Revolution; married Amelia Trumbull. He lived in the old Wyllys house (Hartford) on Charter Oak Hill, and was the last of the name to reside there. Soon after his death, the estate, which had belonged to the Wyllyses since 1636, passed into other hands. He died March 29, 1827.—*New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* (*Jan.*, 1883).

satisfaction, and in giving each other the history of what had passed since we left our *Alma Mater*. With the greatest difficulty I took my leave, but not without promising, if it was possible, to spend two or three days with him on my return. . . . At Wethersfield I called on Mr. Marsh, who urged me to spend the Sabbath with him, but it was my fixed determination to reach Middletown this evening. I ardently wished for more time, but was able to spend but a few minutes with him. In no instance have I ever seen the baneful effects of time so visible on youth and beauty as in Mrs. Marsh. She was a sister of my classmate Grant, and of my particular acquaintance while at college. Her beauty and accomplishments were as much celebrated as, perhaps, any young lady in the state. But her charms were greatly heightened by the addition of a five thousand pound fortune, which has now lost all its influence. She was certainly very pretty, but she is now extremely ugly. Every feature, every air, is totally changed, and not the most distant trace of Nancy Grant is left. It is to me the more extraordinary, as she has ever lived in affluence and ease, nor been exercised with any kind of adversity. She is about forty. Such is the fate of mortals. Youth and beauty must fade, and age, with its withered wrinkles, will make its encroachments on the fairest complexions. Wethersfield is a pleasant village, situated on a rather elevated plain; the streets spacious, and the houses elegant. In every part is the appearance of wealth, which is almost wholly derived from the cultivation of onions. Mr. Marsh lives in a style much above his brethren in general, and abounds in every convenience of life.

Next to Wethersfield is Rocky Hill, somewhat of a village, but consists principally of farmers, who appear to roll in luxury. Their houses are large and neat, the land most fruitful; a good proportion of its produce is onions. Stopped at Williams' tavern, a very indifferent house; 8*d*. As I passed on to Middletown, about a mile before I came to the upper houses (so called), I found myself on an eminence, although I had not been sensible of ascending any considerable hill. The prospect to the south was most extensive, I judged not less than twenty-five or thirty miles.

The landscape appeared to me of a very peculiar style. The scene was truly picturesque and romantic. The effect was greatly hightened by the particular situation of the sun, which was then about half an hour high. The distant shadows were protracted, and a thin haziness bordered the landscape near the horizon, and spread a dubious vail from side to side. This greatly hightened the beauty of distant objects. It hid nothing, but sweetened the hues of nature, gave a consequence to every distant object, by giving it a more indistinct form, corrected the glare of colors, softened the harshness of lines, and, above all, threw over the landscape that harmonizing tint, which blended the whole into unity and repose. In the foreground was Middletown upper houses, a small but compact village, with a handsome Meeting House near the center, situated just at the foot of the hill. On my left was Connecticut River, three-fourths of a mile in breadth, and at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the top of the hill, rolling her waters, with a slow, majestic pace, through the center of the landscape, toward the southern horizon. The river often hides itself by its numerous windings behind small hills and rising grounds, and as often at small distances displays itself in diffusive openings—thus alternately concealed, and then bursting into view in different directions, it makes a serpentine course through the whole extent of the prospect, until it seemed to be lost in the southern horizon. From each side the river the land gradually rises with an easy slope to the distant horizon, forming a long, spreading valley, in the bottom of which is the general course of the river. In the distant western horizon the Farmington mountains raise their detached heads, almost lost in the azure sky, and added great beauty to the variegated scene. Two miles below the upper houses is the city of Middletown. The shipping at the wharves, the steeples in the city, and compact ranges of houses, painted with various colors, with trees interspersed among them, produced a most amusing effect. The extended tract of country, beyond the city, and on each side of the river, is varied with hills and valleys in a high state of cultivation. Large houses and barns, in some places near together, in others more scattered, extensive fields of grain ripe for harvest, lesser fields of Indian corn of the deepest green, plats of grass land and pastures of a livelier verdure, orchards of fruit trees, and groves of wood-land form the back-ground of this finished picture.

This rich variety, in numerous forms, was greatly softened by distance, the state of the air and situation of the sun, for farm-houses and ordinary buildings lost all their vulgarity of shape, and were scattered about in formless spots through the distance. It is inconceivable what richness of beauty the whole tract, when melted together into one view, exhibited. The first thought that struck me was that this vast tract was filled with gentlemen's country-seats, surrounded with extensive gardens, fruit trees, and groves. In addition to this sylvan scene the different views of the river exhibited a great number of vessels, some large, others small, sailing up and down—some appeared to be sailing among the trees. I fancied myself in Elysian fields, and gazed with delighted astonishment until the sun was set and the sable curtain of night was so far drawn as to close the enchanting scene.

From the lower houses to the city the road passes close on the bank of the river, perfectly level and smooth—the side next the lots of interval lined for two miles with the tallest and straightest cotton-wood trees I ever saw. The lots of interval are narrow, but very long, and divided by rows of the same trees.

I arrived at General Parsons'[*] before day-light-in, but it was too dark to make any observations on the city. He lives in the main street, opposite the church. His house is large and his situation delightful.

The General was very complaisant, and insisted on my lodging with him. He sent his servant immediately to the Rev. Mr. Huntington, to inform him of my being in town, who in return requested the General to come with me in the morning to his home. Middletown is 15 miles from Hartford. Journeyed 35 miles; 175 miles from Hamilton.

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[*] Major-General Samuel Holden Parsons. born at Lyme, Connecticut, May 14, 1737; graduated at Harvard, 1756; took an active part in the Revolutionary War, and in 1785 negotiated a treaty with the western tribes. In 1787 was chosen a director of the Ohio Company, and was appointed a United States judge in the North-western Territory. He was drowned in descending the rapids of Big Beaver, Nov. 17, 1789, aged 52 years.—*See Hildreth's Lives Early Settlers.*

Sunday, July 1. This morning General Parsons introduced me to Mr. Huntington, but engaged me to dine with him. I preached in the morning and afternoon. Mr. Huntington's Meeting House is a very large but ancient fabric. The house was crowded and the people in general dressed in a very tasty manner. It was Mr. Huntington's communion, and I was pleased to see that his church was so large as nearly to fill the whole body of the Meeting House. The greater part of the married people in his congregation, I believe, belong to his church, and I was astonished to observe the great number of men who appeared to be over seventy.

I drank tea and spent the afternoon with Mr. Huntington. He is sociable and agreeable, and his acquirements and natural ability eminent, though I presume he is not very popular as a preacher, having somewhat of a hesitancy in his delivery. He is the brother of Governor Huntington and Dr. Huntington. He commenced two years before I entered college. I spent the evening at General Parsons', in company with my good old friend, Mr. Plumb, who has left the desk for the bar, and is set down as an attorney in this city. Mr. Russell, a late tutor, and several other gentlemen, spent the evening with us. Mrs. Parsons, who appears to be an amiable lady, of rather a serious turn, treated me with the greatest kindness and attention. . . .

Monday, July 2. It was 9 o'clock this morning before General Parsons and I had settled all our matters with respect to my business with Congress. He favored me with a large number of letters to members of Congress and other gentlemen in New York. Middletown is pleasantly situated on the declivity of a hill, and extends along the banks of the river. It has an eastern aspect, but does not command a very extended view. It is laid out in oblong squares. The streets are wide, and in some of them are beautiful rows of trees, mostly button-wood, on each side of the street. The houses are in general well built, but the flat extended caps over their doors, though very convenient, are far from being ornamental, and are certainly inconsistent with the established rules of architecture. Many of the lots are not yet built upon. At the northern end of the city is a walk of two rows of button-wood trees, from the front gate of a gentleman's house down to a summer-house on the bank of the river, by far the most beautiful I ever saw. He permits the people of the city to improve it as a mall. Although the city appears well, yet it by no means corresponds with the view it exhibits from the hill above the upper houses.

From Middletown, I passed through a part of Durham, a hilly and rather thinly inhabited tract; the soil in general rich and the produce large. I was diverted on the way, in seeing a farmer plowing among his corn with four oxen and two horses. It was a piece of ground newly cleared, and it seemed to be his intention to cut through the roots that remained in the ground, for his plow was equal in size and strength to his teams. Baited my horse at a house called a tavern, but by no means deserved the name, eleven miles from Middletown; 3*d*. Passed through Wallingford. Met with a shepherd on the road, tending an immense flock of sheep. I judged there were not less than 1,000. The compact part of the town is situated on a narrow ridge of a long hill. The streets wide; many of the houses well built. Near the center are three Meeting Houses within a few rods of each other. Here the soil changes abruptly, and from hence to New Haven it is very thin and sandy, but produces tolerable crops of rye and beans. The fields are, most of them, in large commons.

Made my stage at North Haven bridge; Todd's. This tavern has nothing inviting in its appearance, but I had the good luck to get a very good dinner—a veal cutlet and broiled chicken, with green peas. Examined several plants I had collected, for the heat was too intense for riding. Waited for the air to become a little cooler. North Haven is now incorporated into a town. There is a Meeting House and a Church of England. The houses are few and have the genuine marks of poverty, very small and out of repair, and the barns in a shattered state. Nine miles from the house I called at in Durham. Bill, 1*s*. 10*d*.

Went on to New Haven, a little after 3 o'clock; fine road; eight miles. Took lodgings at Miles' tavern, near the center of the city, just below the market, on the public square; sign of the Lion. This tavern is kept in an elegant style. The house has good accommodations; the stables are good, and well supplied with hostlers. After I had waited on a barber, I paid my compliments to Dr. Stiles,* the President of the college. The doctor was just coming out from his gate, going to the chapel to attend evening prayers. I begged leave to accompany him, and for the first time attended prayers in the college chapel since I took my degree. I declined a seat in the desk. The President introduced me to the stranger's pew. The students were about 160, and the several classes made a very respectable appearance. The dress and manners of the senior class were genteel and graceful. A view of the seats, pews, and gallery, called up a series of reflections on the hours I had spent within those walls, at public worship, in public examinations every quarter, and various exhibitions, that sensibly moved my tenderer passions. After prayers, the President introduced me to the tutors, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Holmes, and Mr. Danielson. We all went to Mr. Holmes' chambers, where we spent a couple of hours very agreeably. The conversation was wholly confined to literary subjects and the present state of American colleges. The President proposed a walk to Dr. Wales', Professor of Divinity. He had gone out. We therefore returned and spent the remainder of the evening at the President's house. The Doctor and Mrs. Stiles were extremely urgent that I should take a bed there, but having previously engaged one at the tavern, I declined. They engaged me for breakfast in the morning. Miles' tavern is 8 miles from N. Haven bridge. My journey to-day, 28 miles; distance from home, 203 miles.

Tuesday, July 3. Very early this morning, took a walk through the principal street of the lower part of the city. It seems to have been nearly built new since I left the town. I was surprised to find that few objects seemed to be familiar—that the traces of this part of the town, where I had made so many pleasant walks during my college life, were almost entirely eradicated from my mind. Few of the remaining houses looked as they used to. The long wharf was the most natural, though much enlarged. On this wharf is a sailors' grog-shop, which has a sign that is truly striking and diverting. It is a large board nailed to the end of the shop and extended over the wharf. The painting is executed in a masterly manner. The design is a table with bottles, glasses, lemons, etc., and a huge bowl of punch. A sailor with a piece of cordage hanging over one arm, the end in his hand, is clasping the bowl with both arms, in the posture of lifting with all his might. He is looking down the wharf with an air of humor, and on a label which goes from his mouth are these words: "Halloo, brother Jack-tar! come, lend a hand to strap this block." Mansfield's row and Beauntiqueu Square appeared more as they used to than any other part of the town. Inclosing the burying-ground, and erecting a number of public buildings on the public square, has greatly altered it. But the most affecting change to me is the loss of Mother Yale. Yale College was by far the most sightly building of any one that belonged to the University, and most advantageously situated. It gave an air of grandeur to the others. There are now only Connecticut Hall, the Chapel, which is three stories, containing the Library and Cabinet, also the Dining-hall and Kitchen. These are all built of brick, but so situated as to make very little show. The city of New Haven covers a large piece of ground, a little descending toward the sea, with a southern aspect. It is laid out in regular squares, with a public square near the center. Its streets are tolerably wide, and some of them ornamented with rows of trees. There is a row of trees set round the public square, which were small while I was at college, but are now large, and add much to its beauty; a row across the center has been very lately set out, in a line with the State House, two large Meeting Houses and the Grammar School. Within the square, and on the borders of others adjoining, are six steeples and cupolas on public buildings, within a very small compass of ground. These steeples, when you approach the city in whatever direction, have an agreeable effect. The houses in general are good, some of them elegant, and a great proportion of them built with brick. The streets are generally dry, but very sandy, and will, probably, never be paved, as it must be attended with great expense. The Harbor is good, and the shipping very considerable, principally in the coasting and West India trade.

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* Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles (D.D., Edinburgh, 1765; LL.D., N. Y. College, 1784), born, North Haven, Conn., December 15, 1727; died at New Haven, May 12, 1795. Made President of Yale, June 23, 1778, filling this post until his death. When a tutor, Dr. Franklin sent to Yale an electrical apparatus, and he and his fellow tutors performed the first electrical experiments ever performed in New England. Dr. Stiles was undoubtedly one of the purest and best gifted men of his age. One daughter married Rev. Abiel Holmes; Ruth married Rev. Caleb Gannet.—*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

Breakfasted this morning with Dr. Stiles. He has four daughters, unmarried, very agreeable. His only son is in the law, settled in the country. A Miss Channing, a young lady from Newport, and of very uncommon literary accomplishments, was here on a visit. She not only reads but speaks French, Latin, and Greek, with great ease, and has furnished her mind with a general knowledge of the whole circle of science, particularly Astronomy and Natural Philosophy. She has likewise a high taste for the fine arts, and discourses with great judgment on eloquence, oratory, painting, sculpture, etc. She is very sociable, knows how to take advantage of every incident to render herself agreeable, and no subject seems to come amiss. Her style is exceedingly correct and elegant, without the least symptom of affectation. How highly ornamental is such an education to a female character when connected with the softer graces and politeness of manners!

Immediately after breakfast, the tutors came in to invite me to the College. Dr. Stiles accompanied us. We took a view of the Library, the Philosophy Chamber, and Cabinet. The Library is small; the collection consists principally of rather antiquated authors. The Philosophical apparatus is still less valuable—an air-pump, tolerably good; a reflecting telescope, wholly useless, for the large and small mirrors are covered with rust, occasioned by poking in greasy fingers; a microscope of the compound kind, but very ancient; a miserable electrical machine; a large, homely orrery, made by one of the students; a hydrostatic balance, and a few other articles, not worth naming. A handsome sum, however, is now being collected for purchasing a complete Philosophical apparatus. The Cabinet is a good collection, but very badly disposed.

I had intended to proceed on my journey, but the time passed insensibly in the agreeable company of these gentlemen, who are truly literary characters, and I consented to tarry to dinner. Indeed I could not deny myself the pleasure of spending a little time at the place where I received my education, and from which I had been absent so many years.

At 11 o'clock the tutors attended their classes, and the Doctor and I returned to his house. I sent for my trunk and showed the Doctor and his lady, and the young ladies, my botanical apparatus and books, with which they were all highly pleased, having never seen any thing of the kind before. I had collected a number of flowers the day before, which I had not had time to examine. They were perfectly fresh in my botanical box. From them I gave a short lecture on the parts of fructification, separating and exhibiting the parts at the same time, which was highly amusing to the company. The Doctor was extremely pleased with my "Hobby-horse," and was determined to mount him, and have a ride himself. I had to explain technical terms, and construe crabbed Linnæn Latin for an hour on the stretch. At length a call to dinner put an end to my fatigue. But the "Hobby-horse" was introduced at table, and each of the company must have a ride in turn. After dinner I was determined to set out immediately, but there was no such thing as getting away. We returned to the microscope and plants.

Dr. Wales came in to see me, and spend the afternoon; he joined the Doctor in pressing me to spend the next day, 4th of July, in the city, which was to be celebrated, by order of the corporation of the city, with great military parade, an oration in the brick Meeting House, a public dinner in the State House, and a public ball in the evening. My inclination to comply was sufficiently strong, but the inconveniences I might suffer by losing so much time induced me absolutely to decline. Such, however, was the zeal of the Doctor, that before I left his house, and by his procuring, I suppose, a billet was sent me by the Mayor of the city, to dine the next day with the Governors of the College, Corporation of the City, etc. I was obliged to return an answer directly opposed to my feelings, and excused myself from accepting the invitation, as I was under the necessity of leaving the city that evening. As

I was determined to go, Dr. Stiles and Dr. Wales were so complaisant as to propose to accompany me as far as West Haven Meeting House, six miles from the city, which they did. It was with the greatest reluctance that I took my leave of this very agreeable family, where I had been shown so much politeness and attention. Bill at Miles' tavern, 3*s.*; barber, 1*s.*

At West Haven took my leave of Dr. Stiles and Dr. Wales. It was now sunset. Rode on to Milford, 10 miles from New Haven, 213 miles from home. The road tolerably good; some part of the way woody, and none of it very thickly inhabited. The soil rather light and sandy. Called on my classmate, Buckingham, who is a Justice of the Peace, and one of the Judges of the Inferior Court for the County of New Haven. He is a wealthy farmer, and lives in a handsome house near the Meeting House. My intention was to lodge with him, but unfortunately he was gone from home. Went on to Glinney's tavern, the other side of the Meeting House, and took lodgings. Just as I was sitting down to supper my friend B. came in; being told that somebody had inquired for him at his door, he came over to see who it was. It was some time before he could call me by name, though he said he knew me at first glance. This was more than I could say of him; for, had he not asked me if I was the gentleman that called at his door, I should not have had the most distant thought of him. We spent the evening, until 11 o'clock, very agreeably. After a little time his countenance, and every thing about him, became familiar. He urged me to take a bed with him; but as it was late, and I must ride very early in the morning, I declined.

Dr. Carrington, who was two years after me in college, and who lives in this town, came in just after Mr. Buckingham, and spent the evening with us. This tavern is very indifferent, though the people seemed very obliging. My night's sleep was greatly disturbed by the howling of dogs, in-doors and out.

Wednesday, July 4, *Independence.* Rose very early, and went on to Stratford. . Milford is a large town, mostly farmers. Near the Meeting House are a number of houses, somewhat compact, but the ground is broken and rocky. The land in some parts of the town is very good. Four miles from Milford Meeting House is Stratford River, one quarter of a mile wide, and navigable above the ferry about ten miles, to Danbury. Fare at the ferry, 1*s*. 2*d*.

On the opposite side is Stratford. The compact part of the town is about a mile from the ferry. A very pretty village of houses on a plain. A Church of England, and a handsome Meeting House. Dr. Johnson's seat is in this town. His house and gardens appear very well.

Breakfasted at Blackleach's tavern, near the church. Called for a few minutes on my classmate, Walker. He is a Justice of the Peace, lives in an elegant house, and has a large estate, principally in farms. Happily for him he had a father born before him. He received me politely, and urged me to spend some time with him. He appeared the most natural of any of my college acquaintances I have yet seen. . . . It afforded me pleasure to hear that he sustained a very fine character, and was one of the principal men in the town. It is, indeed, no small satisfaction to find, and to hear, that most of my classmates support respectable characters in life, and a great proportion of them are employed in public life. I had eight classmates from this town, and only one remains in it. Bill, 1*s*. 4*d*.

Passed over Newfield ferry, two miles from Stratford; fare, 10*d*. A great proportion of the land between Stratford and this ferry is improved with flax. The soil is rich and strong, requiring little or no manure. The roads fine. Over the ferry, at the right, is Stratfield, a considerable village, with a church and Meeting House. At some distance from the ferry is a very long bridge, which I judged to be more than a quarter of a mile in length; at a small distance from this is another, of shorter extent.

Passed through Fairfield, eight miles from Stratford. . . . The town was burnt by the British troops, but is now in a considerable degree rebuilt. It is situated on a plain, but in its present state makes no appearance. There is, however, a considerable cluster of houses in the center of the town; but the houses are generally rather indifferent. The Meeting

House stands near the center of them, and is a decent building. It was my intention to call on Mr. Eliot, the minister, but found he lived at Greenfield, a parish two miles distant from his own. He moved out in the time of the war, on to a farm, and has not returned. Greenfield is on the right, at some distance from the post road, most beautifully situated on a high eminence. Mr. Dwight is the minister. Made my next stage at Morehouse tavern, four miles from Fairfield, a miserable, dirty tavern; bill, 4*d*.

The road this morning has been fine, in view of the Sound. The lands rich, producing immense quantities of flax, some grains, and Indian corn. The farmers appear to do very little labor. Called at Mr. Ripley's door, a very particular college acquaintance, two years before me. He is settled in the ministry in Green's farms. His parish, I believe, is rather indifferent, but he has a good farm. He urged me to stop and dine with him, but as he was very busy making hay, I excused myself and went on to Norwalk, nine miles from my last stage. The road rocky and hilly and the land indifferent. Put up at Reed's tavern. Very hot. This is a tolerable tavern. Dined on cutlet of veal and green peas. Norwalk is a very compact place, at the head of a navigable creek. There seems to be a greater number of handsome stores than dwelling-houses, and most of them inhabited by families. The building are all new, for this town, and almost all of the houses between this and Fairfield, were burnt by the British. There is no Meeting House. They worship in a large school-house. Bill, 1*s*. 4*d*.

My next stage at Young's, in Middlesex, six miles. Very hot and the roads excessively bad. This house is very neat, but I believe not much used as a tavern. The landlord is fat and lazy, but extremely knowing, at least in his own opinion; a thorough-paced politician—every thing is wrongly managed, but he could easily set all to rights, was government committed to him. Our country! how much do you suffer by not calling into your councils such wiseacres, who could snatch you with a jerk from the jaws of ruin! He is a genuine Connecticut tavern-keeper—before your horse's bits are out of his mouth, the usual questions are asked: What's your name? Where did you come from? Where are you going? And, what's your business? Answer these questions, and his curiosity is completely satisfied; nor does he wish to know a syllable more about you, only that you will take care to pay your bill—mine was 9*d*. At this house I was pleased with a number of perfectly white silken balls, as they appeared to be, suspended by small threads along the frame of the looking-glass. They were made by taking off the calyx of the flowers of the Thistle in an early stage of their blooming.

The next town is Stamford, a very pretty village. Some of the houses make a very good appearance. It is situated on low and rather broken ground. The Meeting House is the greatest curiosity I observed in this place. It is a very old building, large, square on the ground. The whole roof forms the base of the steeple in a four-square; in the middle is raised a four-square tower of half the size of the whole house. This tower has a large round roof; from its center is raised another large tower, of half the size of the first tower; from this tower is raised a short steeple. This village is three miles from Young's. The road rocky; the land good; fine orchards.

Arrived at Napp's, in Horse Neck, about 10 o'clock. The extreme heat prevented my riding in the middle of the day. His house is situated on a very high hill, of most difficult access. At a small distance from his house, the road ascends a precipice by different windings, which appears to me to be nearly sixty feet high and almost perpendicular. As you approach it, it appears inaccessible; but nature has formed crevices in certain directions, which seem to have been designed for a road, and by labor it has been made tolerably good. Both Napp and his wife have much the air of a gentleman and lady, but keep good attendants, and a house well furnished with every thing necessary for a tavern. I felt more anxious for my horse than myself; but it was very dark, and being much fatigued, I wished to be excused from going to the stables. The hostler is Cuff. After he had fed my horse with oats, I gave him a very serious charge to rub him well down and give him a good supper. His ready promise to do it made me suspect him the more. "Well," says I, "my lad, if you do not take good care of him, my horse will certainly tell me in the morning, and you may depend on a flogging." "What? You hoss tell you! De debble! You hoss speak! I no b'leve dat." "Yes, Cuff. You shall see what he will do in the morning." In the morning Cuff came, grinning, with my horse. "Now, masser, what you hoss say! If he say I no give him good supper, he will lie like de debble."

This is 15 miles from Reed's, in Norwalk; rode 44 miles, and 257 miles from home. Bill, 3*s.* 4*d.*, York currency.

Thursday, *July* 5. Rose very early this morning, and was on my way some time before the sun rose. Road very bad; the land, in general, rich and fertile; the farms abound in orchards; vast numbers of red cherry trees, set on the sides of the road, which were loaded with fruit, fully ripe. I replenished my carriage with branches full of ripe fruit as often as I pleased, and ate until I made myself almost sick. The fruit is large, fair, and sweet. After I had rode about three miles, a gentlemen overtook me, who was riding in a Whisky, and bound to New York. We soon fell into conversation. I found him very sociable and agreeable. He was from Long Island, and had been journeying to the northern part of Connecticut. We passed Byram River three miles from Napp's, which is the boundary line between the states of Connecticut and New York. Three miles from Byram River we made our first stage—Mrs. Haviland's, in Rye, where we breakfasted. This house has more the air of a gentleman's country-seat than a tavern. It is a large, well-built house, with a piazza extending the whole length of the front, well finished and elegantly furnished; handsome barns, stables, and other out-houses; a spacious garden, laid out in a beautiful form. The owner is still more extraordinary. She is a widow of fifty, in a rich, gay dress, and affecting the airs of a young girl of sixteen. She has an only daughter, equally tasty in dress, who is, at least, approaching the old-maid's row, but is really handsome. When the table was set for our breakfast, one would have thought they intended it for dinner. It was furnished with ham, neat's tongue, and roast veal, in addition to a fine dish of green tea, coffee, bread and butter, and good old cheese. The mother and daughter were very chatty, and we spent an hour very agreeably. Bill, 2*s.*, York currency.

We rode through Mamaroneck, four miles from Mrs. Haviland's, situated on the side of a navigable creek, which receives a small river, which we forded. The next town is New Rochelle. The houses in both places are scattered, the land rocky, and the roads bad, but the soil is rich. The road, however, is much better than before we passed Byram River. We then came to East Chester, and made our stage at Guion's tavern, eleven miles from Mrs. Haviland's. Here is a stone church, greatly injured by the British troops. The windows, remarkable for their size, were taken out and destroyed, and have not since been repaired. On our way to this tavern, my fellow traveler showed me several spots where the British and American troops engaged in action, and entertained me with the various movements of the two armies while they were in this vicinity. Guion's is a tolerable tavern. Bill, 1*s.* It was very hot, but we proposed to make the best of our way to New York.

About three miles from Guion's is a river, which was the separating line between the two armies for a considerable time. The name of the river he had forgotten. A singular achievement is mentioned of a British light-horseman, at the bridge over this river, which appeared to me incredible. The bridge is high from the water and the butments at least ten feet apart. This bridge was taken up by the Americans. It is said a light-horseman, who had crossed the river above, in order to reconnoiter, was discovered near the bridge on the American side, and, closely pursued by a body of horse, he made for the bridge, but did not know that it was taken up until he come within a few yards. He had no alternative but to jump his horse over or be made a prisoner. He preferred the former, and clapped his spurs to his horse, and leaped him from butment to butment, and so made his escape. On the side, where the British troops lay, the hills and highlands were strongly fortified. About two miles before we came to King's bridge, we had an extensive view of the lofty shore on the opposite side of the Hudson River. It is an extended range of mountains up and down the river, with nearly level summit, but, on the bank of the river, appears to be perpendicular, and so much as 80 or 100 feet high. It looks like a solid rock, deeply grooved in perpendicular glades. The top is crowned with a growth of forest trees. On this side of the river the lands are rather low, interspersed with swelling hills, and in a state of high cultivation. Several manors, with the villas of the owners, present themselves in one view. These, with the extended mountains on the opposite side of the river, and extending up and down as far as the eye can reach, afford an unusual and pleasing landscape. The western bank is so fortified by this range of mountains, from opposite to New York, as far up as Stony Point, forty or fifty miles, that it proved a complete barrier against the British troops during the late war, for they were unable to land anywhere for so great a distance on the Jersey shores.

King's bridge is built over a narrow river which communicates with the Hudson on the west and Long Island Sound on the east. The bridge is small, very narrow, and badly built. It is worthy of no kind of notice, except that it forms the pass from the main, on to York Island, and was for a considerable time the line between the two armies.

Although the river is very narrow, it is deep, and the tide runs rapidly under the bridge, alternately both ways, as the tide ebbs and flows. It is fifteen miles from the city of New York. As we entered on York Island the land is rocky and broken, especially on the right, but the road is exceedingly good. On our way down the island the ruins of British encampments and fortifications presented themselves on both sides of the road, incessantly, for many miles. About a mile from the bridge they threw up immense works across the island. We also saw the ruins of Fort Washington, Fort Independence, and many other forts and redoubts built by the Americans.

My companion entertained me much with the recital of the various situations and movements of the two armies at different periods, and with the most material incidents in the history of that part of the American war. He appears to be perfectly intelligent and well informed, much of a gentleman, and of most pleasing address. He was at different times in the country, and in New York, in the British and American encampments. I watched him with every possible attention to discover whether he was a whig or tory, but he was so guarded, even in his praises and censures, which on different occasions he bestowed on the conduct of the two armies, and expressed himself with so much judgment and impartiality, that I was unable to determine whether he was for America or Britain. However, I am inclined to think he was a whig.

The island of New York is narrow, the land very much broken, a great part of it so rocky as to be incapable of cultivation. Ten miles this side the city is a plain of good land, called Harlem Plain. On this plain, and toward East River, is a small village, called Harlem. The inhabitants are nearly all Dutch, and the houses are built in the Dutch style. Toward the city are a number of elegant country-seats, with large orchards, and the land highly cultivated, particularly their gardens. Two miles from the city I took leave of my fellow-traveler, who was going to dine with his brother at a country-seat about a mile and a half out of the road, but at that time full in our view. Here we exchanged our names, which before had been unknown to each other, and parted with apparent reluctance on both sides; it was sincerely so on mine, for a more agreeable companion I had scarcely ever met with. His name was Nicholson, a merchant, who lives on the southern side of the large plains, on Long Island, about 100 miles from New York. Before I went into the city I made a short stage at a Dutch tavern and dined. The house was remarkably neat. . . . Bill, 3s. About 3 o'clock I arrived at the city by the road that enters through the Bowery. Put up my horse at the sign of the "Plow and Harrow," in the Bowery—Barnes'. After dressing myself, took a walk into the city. When I came to examine my letters of introduction, I found them so accumulated that I hardly knew which to deliver first. As this is rather a curiosity to me, I am determined to preserve a catalogue, although only a part are to be delivered at New York:

Hon. Timothy Pickering, Esq., Philadelphia; Mr. T. D. Blanchard, Philadelphia; Sam'l Vaughan, Esq., Philadelphia; Mr. John Vaughan, Philadelphia; Mr. Hugh Henderson, merchant, New York; Rev. Dr. Rogers, New York; Sir John Temple, New York; Lady Temple, New York; His Excellency, Dr. Franklin, Philadelphia; Barnabas Binney, M. D., Philadelphia; Benjamin Rush, M. D., Philadelphia; John Morgan, M. D., Philadelphia; Doctor D. Shippen, Philadelphia; Doctor Eben'. Crosby, New York; Hon. Eben', Hazard, Esq., New York; Mr. Benj. Park, merchant, Philadelphia; Mr. William Ball, merchant, Philadelphia; Mr. Robert Aiken, printer, Philadelphia; Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Philadelphia; Mons. Le Mechard, Superintendent French King's Botanical Garden, New Jersey; General Knox, New York; Colonel Carrington, member Congress; Colonel Grayson, member Congress; Hon. Richard H. Lee, Esq., member Congress; Hon. Doctor Lee, member Board Treasury; Hon. Wm. Duer, Secretary Board Treasury; His Excellency, General St. Clair, President of Congress; Hon. Melancthon Smith, New York; Hon. Egb't Benson, member Congress; Colonel Richard Platt, New York; Colonel George Morgan, Princeton; Rev. Doctor Smith, Vice-President of New Jersey College; Rev. Doctor Ewing, Provost of the College in Philadelphia; David Rittenhouse, Esq., Philadelphia; General N. Webb, New York; Rev. Doctor Witherspoon, President of the College, New Jersey; His Excellency, the President of the Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; Rev. Doctor Sprout, Philadelphia; Rev. William Rogers, Philadelphia; Hon. Samuel Baldwin, member Congress; Hon. Roger Sherman, member Congress; Hon. William Irvine, member Congress; Hon. W. Livingston, of Board of Treasury.

The first letter I delivered was to Mr. Hugh Henderson. He is a wholesale merchant, and lives in genteel style. Mrs. Henderson is a sister of Mrs. Willard, which was the occasion of my receiving an introductory letter from Dr. Willard to him. Mr. Henderson received me very politely. After tea he proposed a walk about the city, but first gave me a specimen of Scotch generosity; urged me to take lodgings with him while I tarried in the city, and assigned me one of his front chambers, and ordered his servant, Starling, to attend me. After finding that no apology would avail, I accepted his invitation, and his servant was sent for my baggage. We rambled over a considerable part of the city before dark, delivered a number of my letters, and returned and spent the evening very agreeably at Mr. Henderson's. He lives on Golden Hill, in Golden Hill street, No. 14. Rode 45 miles; 802 from home.

Friday, July 6. This morning delivered most of my introductory letters to the members of Congress. Prepared my papers for making application to Congress for the purchase of lands in the western country for the Ohio Company. At 11 o'clock I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of Congress Chamber, in the City Hall, by Colonel Carrington,[*] member from Virginia. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. A Committee was appointed to agree on terms of negotiation, and report to Congress. Dined with Mr. Dane. He and Mr. Milliken, Comptroller of the Board of Treasury, have hired a house in Broadway, and live in a family state, with only two servants. Spent the evening with several members of Congress.

Saturday, July 7. Paid my respects, this morning, to Dr. Holton, and several other gentlemen. Was introduced by Dr. Ewing and Mr. Rittenhouse[†] to Mr. Hutchins,[‡] Geographer to the United States. Consulted him, where to make our location. Dined with General Knox.[‖] Introduced to his

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[*] Colonel Edward Carrington, a native of Virginia. Served as Quartermaster-General under General Greene, in his southern campaign. A delegate in Congress from Virginia, 1787. Born, 1749; died, 1814, aged 65.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

[†] David Rittenhouse, celebrated mathematician; born in Pennsylvania, 1732. During early life employed in agriculture; his constitution being feeble, he became a clock and mathematical instrument maker. Removed to Philadelphia, 1770. Member, and for some time President of the Philosophical Society; Treasurer of Pennsylvania from 1777–89; Director of U. S. Mint from 1792–1795. Died, 1796. His mathematical talents were of the highest order.—*Biog. of Eminent Men* (*Davenport*).

[‡] Thomas Hutchins, Geographer General of the U. S. Born in New Jersey. For many years an officer in the army; served in several campaigns against the Indians. Engineer for the erection of Fort Pitt. Wrote a history of Boquet's invasion of the Indian country in 1764. Died in 1789, at Pittsburg.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

[‖] Henry Knox, Major-General in the army of U. S. Born in Boston, July 25, 1750. Took command of Corps of Artillery in 1776, and conlady, and a French nobleman, the Marquis Lotbiniere—at dinner, to several other gentlemen, who dined with us. Our dinner was served in high style—much in the French taste. Mrs. Knox * is very gross, but her manners easy and graceful. She is sociable, and would be very agreeable, were it not for her affected singularity in dressing her hair. She seems to mimic a military style, which to me is disgusting in a female. Her hair in front is craped at least a foot high, much in the form of a churn bottom upward, and topped off with a wire skeleton in the same form covered with black gauze, which hangs in streamers down to her back. Her hair behind is in a large braid, turned up, and confined with a monstrous large crooked comb. She reminded me of the monstrous cap worn by the Marquis La Fayette's valet—commonly called, on this account, the Marquis' *Devil.* No person at table attracted my attention so much as the Marquis Lotbiniere—not on account of his good sense, for if it had not been for his title I should have thought him two-thirds of a fool.

Waited on Rev. Dr. Rogers, and drank tea in company with Dr. Ewing, Dr. Witherspoon, and several other clergymen. The Doctor urged me exceedingly to preach for him, at least part of the day, on Sunday; but, as the two Presidents † were in town, and I had just come off a long journey, prevailed on him to excuse me.

In the evening, called on Dr. Crosby, in company with Mr. Hazard. Dr. Crosby is Professor of Midwifery in the University in this city. He is much of a gentleman, and received me very politely.

Sunday, July 8. Attended public worship this morning at

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tinued during the war. In 1785, appointed Secretary of War, and continued under the present Constitution, in 1789, by President Washington. Resigned in 1799, being near twenty years in the service of his country. Died at Thomaston, Maine, 1806. He was greatly distinguished for his courage, gentlemanly bearing, and manly virtues; one of Washington's favorites.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

* Mrs. Knox was a daughter of Hon. Thomas Fluckner, Secretary of the Province of Massachusetts under Governor Gage. She married General Knox, then a bookseller in Boston, in 1774.

† The "two Presidents" were Dr. Ewing, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Witherspoon, of the College of New Jersey.

the new brick Presbyterian Church. The house is large and elegant. The carvings within are rather plain, but very neat, and produce a fine effect upon the eye. The form of the house is long, and the pulpit near one end, but not adjoining to the wall. It is supported by a single post, which passes up at the back part of the pulpit, and is crowned with the sounding-board, not more than two feet above the minister's head. At the end of the house, opposite to the pulpit, are two doors, which open into two long aisles that extend the whole length of the house. The pews are built on each side the aisles, one tier of wall pews and two tiers in the center of the house. The pews are long and narrow, having only one long seat, except that there are two square wall pews placed opposite to each other near the center of the side walls, with a handsome canopy over them supported by pillars. The floors of these pews are considerably elevated above the others, which renders them very pleasant. They are called the Governor's pews, and are occupied by strangers.

Dr. Ewing,* Provost of the college at Philadelphia, preached a very pretty sermon on the advantages and excellency of the Christian religion. The congregation appeared remarkably neat and rich in their dress, but not gay. The house was very full and exceedingly attentive. I was particularly pleased with the singing. Around the large pillar which supports the pulpit is a very large circular pew, appropriated to the Wardens of the church and the Chorister. In the front of this pew is a little desk, considerably elevated. When the Psalm is read, the Chorister steps up into this desk and sings the first line. He is then joined in the second line by the whole congregation—men, women, and children seemed all to sing, almost without exception. The airs of the tunes were sprightly, though not very quick; the singing, notwithstanding it was performed by such a mixed multitude, was soft, musical, and solemn, and the time well preserved. There is an Orchestra, but no Organ. The public service was introduced by a short prayer, reading the Scriptures, and then singing; but instead of singing before sermon, they sing in the morning, as well as afternoon, after the last prayer. As soon as the last singing is ended, the Wardens go out from the large round pew, with each a large pewter platter in his hand, each taking a tier of pews, and walk down the aisles. Every person, great and small, puts into the platter one copper, and no more. This contribution is made through the whole congregation in less than three minutes.

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*John Ewing, an eminent American divine and mathematician, was born in Maryland, 1732; graduated at Princeton, 1755. In 1759, took pastoral charge of First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia; continued until 1773. In 1779, he accepted the station of Provost of the University of Philadelphia, which he filled until his death. He was elected Vice-president of American Philosophical Society, and contributed several valuable memoirs to their Transactions. His favorite study was mathematics, and his Lectures on Natural History have obtained considerable reputation. He died, 1802.

I was struck, this morning, with a custom in this city which I had never before heard of in any part of the world. I observed, as I was going to church, six men, walking two and two toward the church, with very large white sashes, which appeared to be made of fine Holland, the whole width and two or three yards in length. They were placed over their right shoulders, and tied under their left arms in a very large bow, with several yards of white ribbon on the top of their shoulders; a large rose, formed of white ribbon, was placed on the sash. As I came up to the yard of the church, Dr. Rogers * and Dr. Ewing were just before me, going into the church, both in their black gowns, but Dr. Rogers with a large white sash, like those of the six men, only that the bow and rose of ribbons were black. These sashes, I was informed, were given the last week at a funeral. They are worn by the minister and bearers to the grave, and are always worn by them the next Sunday, and the bearers always walk to and from the

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* Rev. John Rogers, D.D.; born, Boston, 1727; died, New York City, 1811. He was educated in Philadelphia, and became impressed with religious truth by the preaching of Whitefield. He preached for a time in Delaware, and in 1765 became pastor of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church, New York, where he continued until his death. He served for a time during the Revolutionary War as chaplain.—*See Drake's Dict. Am. Biography.*

church together. To give these sashes, is a general custom at the funeral of persons of any note.

I dined at Sir John Temple's. Sir John was so complaisant as to invite Dr. Holton and Mr. Dane, which he said he did purposely on my account, as we were countrymen. The Hon. Dr. Lee,* Hon. Mr. Walton (an Englishman and a member of the British Parliament), and Mr. Dawes, were the other company. Sir John is the complete gentleman, but his deafness renders it painful to converse with him. Lady Temple is certainly the greatest beauty, norwithstanding her age, I ever saw. To a well-proportioned form, a perfectly fine skin, and completely adjusted features, is added a soft, but majestic air, an easy and pleasing sociability, a vein of fine sense, which commands admiration and infuses delight. Her smiles, for she rarely laughs, could not fail of producing the softest sensibility in the fiercest savage. Her dress is exceedingly neat and becoming, but not gay. She is now a grandmother, but I should not suppose her more than 22; her real age is 44. But my admiration was still more excited by their little daughter, Augusta.† To me she appeared a perfect prodigy. She is only six years of age. She introduces herself with an easy politeness to every person in the company, and is never at a

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*Dr. Arthur Lee; born in Virginia, 1740. Educated in England, taking his degree of M. D. at the University of Edinburgh. In 1776, he was appointed minister to France, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane. In 1781, elected to the Assembly of Virginia, and by this body returned to Congress, where he continued to represent the state till 1785. He was next called to the board of treasury, where he continued till 1789. Died in 1792.—*Biog. of Eminent Men* (*Davenport*).

†Sir John Temple, Bart., was the Consul-General of Great Britain to the United States He was born in Boston, 1732; died in New York, 1798. Lady Temple was daughter of Governor James Bowdoin, of Massachusetts. Her oldest daughter married Governor Thos. L. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and became the mother of the Hon. Robt. C. Winthrop, LL.D. Augusta Grenville Temple, "the little daughter," whose winning ways so attracted Dr. Cutler, became the wife of William L. Palmer, who served in the British army with the rank of captain. After retiring from the army, he lived with his family in Boston, where he died. The oldest daughter of Captain Palmer and Augusta Grenville Temple, Augusta Temple Palmer, became the wife of the late Rufus Prime, of New York. She died in 1840.

loss for a subject of conversation, and so sensible and pertinent are all her observations and remarks that she never fails of pleasing. She distinguishes characters in paying her attentions with a judgment and precision which would do honor to mature age. No lady is more completely mistress of all the little etiquette which adorns a finished education. The purity and elegance of her language, witty turns and well-timed sarcasms, rather diminished pleasure by exciting constant astonishment.

Our dinner was in the English style, plain, but plentiful; the wines excellent, which is a greater object with Sir John than his roast beef or poultry. You can not please him more than by praising his *Madeira* and frequently begging the honor of a glass with him. The servants were all in livery. The Parlor, Drawing-room, and Dining-hall are in the second story—spacious and richly furnished. The paintings are principally historical, and executed by the greatest masters in Europe. The Parlor is ornamented chiefly with medals and small busts of the principal characters now living in Europe, made of Plaster of Paris or white wax. He dines at two on Sundays. At half-past three Mr. Dawes and I withdrew, and attended church at St. George's Chapel. This is a magnificent edifice. The tower and steeple are larger and higher, I believe, than any other in America. The inside of the church is very large. Some paintings and carvings. We sat in the Governor's pew, which is the same here as in the Presbyterian Church, being one on each side of the Meeting House. Dr. Beach read prayers, and Dr. Moore preached an elegant sermon on benevolence. The church was exceedingly crowded, and the congregation was richly but not splendidly dressed. In the time of the first singing the Wardens visited every pew with their pewter plates, into which every person, small and great, put in a copper. This seemed to be "killing two birds with one stone," for, while they were engaged in singing their Psalm (for everybody sings), they were as busy in fumbling their pockets for the coppers, and rattling them into the platters.

After meeting put letters into the post-office for Mrs. Cutler and friends at Boston.

Attended a lecture at Dr. Rogers' new brick Presbyterian Church. Full congregation. Dr. Witherspoon,* President of New Jersey College, preached. He is an intolerably homely old Scotchman, and speaks the true dialect of his country, except that his brogue borders on the Irish. He is a bad speaker, has no oratory, and had no notes before him. His subject was "Hypocrisy." But, notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, the badness of his delivery, which required the closest attention to understand him, yet the correctness of his style, the arrangement of his matter, and the many new ideas that he suggested, rendered his sermon very entertaining. The attention of the congregation strongly marked their regard for good sense and clear reasoning, rather than the mere show of oratory and declamation. Spent the remainder of the evening and supped with Mr. Hazard.†

Monday, July 9. Waited this morning very early on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the fullest information of the western country, from Pennsylvania to the Illinois, and advised me, by all means, to make our location on the Muskingum, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole of the western country.

Attended the Committee before Congress opened, and then spent the remainder of the forenoon with Mr. Hutchins.

Dined at Dr. Rogers', in company with Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. Ewing, Dr. McCourtland, of Newark, Mr. Wilson, colleague with Dr. Rogers, and two other clergymen, from the Southward, whose names I do not recollect. It seemed like a ministers' meeting. They appeared to be much of gentlemen, and I must do them the justice to say, I was treated with par-

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*John Witherspoon, D.D., LL.D. Born in Scotland, 1722. Educated for the ministry at Edinburgh. Preached with great applause at Paisley, until 1768, when he accepted the appointment of the Presidency of Princeton College. Was elected to Congress for a number of years. His name is affixed to the Declaration of Independence. Died in 1794, aged 72.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

† Hon. Ebenezer Hazard. Born in Philadelphia. Graduated at Princeton in 1762. In 1782, appointed Postmaster-General, and continued till 1789. In 1787, was Treasurer of Congress. Published a work on American History, "Hazard's Register" 2 vols. Died 1817. —*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

ticular marks of attention, notwithstanding my being a New England man. Dr. Rogers is certainly the most accomplished gentleman, for a clergyman, not to except even Dr. Cooper, that I have ever been acquainted with. He lives in elegant style, and entertains company as genteelly as the first gentlemen in the city. This he may well do, for his salary is 750 pounds a year, and his perquisites upward of 200 more. Mr. Wilson is a young Scotchman and colleague with Dr. Rogers. They have two Meeting Houses, and have two distinct congregations, but they preach alternately in each house; the same sermons they preach in the forenoon they always preach in the afternoon, by exchanging houses. The church which belongs to the two houses are but one corporate body, although they commune separately.

It was with reluctance that I took my leave of this agreeable and sociable company of clergymen, but my business rendered it necessary.

Attended the Committee at Congress Chamber. Debated on terms, but were so wide apart that there appears little prospect of closing a contract. I had now a fair opportunity of observing minutely the Chamber where the Supreme Councils of the Nation are held. For, after the debates were over, the gentlemen of the Committee were polite enough to show me every thing curious within these walls.

Congress Chamber is an apartment in the second story of the City Hall. This Hall is a magnificent pile of buildings in Wall Street, at the head of Broad Street, near the center of the city. It is more than twice the width of the State House in Boston, but, I think, not so long. The lower story is a walk; at each corner are rooms, appropriated to the Mayor and Aldermen of the city, and the City Guards. Between the corner rooms, on each side and at the ends, it is open for a considerable space, supported by pillars. In front is a flight of steps from the street, over which is a two-story piazza, with a spacious walk, which communicates with Congress Chamber at the east end, and with the chamber where the Mayor and Aldermen hold their courts at the west end. Congress Chamber is up the eastern stairs; it is nearly square. On the southern side the floor is raised several feet, which is ascended by steps and inclosed with a banister. In the center is a large chair, raised still higher, lined with red damask silk, and over it a curious canopy, fringed with silk, and two large, flowing, damask curtains descending from the sides of the canopy to the floor, partly furled with silken cords. This is the seat of the President of Congress, and the appearance at the opposite side of the Chamber is superb. On the floor of the Chamber, at the right and left from the President's chair, are two rows of chairs, extended to the opposite side of the room, with a small bureau table placed before each chair; the chairs and tables are mahogany, richly carved, the arms and bottom covered with red morocco leather. On each side of the President's chair, within the banisters, are chairs and tables similar to those of the members, for the use of the Secretary and his clerks. In the midst of the floor is a vacant space, in the form of a broad aisle. The curtains of the windows are red damask, richly ornamented with fringe. At the east end is a portrait of General Washington, at full length, well executed. At the opposite end are the portraits of some of the General Officers who fell in the late war. On the side opposite the President's seat are the portraits of the King and Queen of France, as large as life. They were drawn by the King's own portrait painter, and presented by his Majesty to Congress. The drapery infinitely exceeds any thing of the kind I ever saw before. They are dressed in their robes, and life and animation is imitated to perfection. When the damask curtains, which covered them, were drawn, their eyes were fixed upon us with a vivacity that bespoke life itself, and their majestic countenances seemed to chastise our insolence in approaching them with so little reverence.

Called again on Mr. Hutchins and consulted him farther on the place of location.

Spent the evening with Dr. Holton * and several other members of Congress in Hanover Square.

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*Samuel Holton, born in Danvers in 1738; for a time President of Congress, and a member several years. In 1796 appointed Judge of Probate for Essex County (Mass.); died in 1815. He was a man of great excellence of character and fine personal appearance.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

Tuesday, July 10. This morning another conference with the committee. Called on Dr. Crosby, in company with Mr. Hazard. The Doctor is Professor of Midwifery in Columbia College, in this city, and was so polite as to invite me to visit the college and introduce me to the Governors. The college is built of stone, in an elegant style, three stories high, with three cross entries. In front is a square and spacious yard, with a very high fence. There is a flight of steps up to each entry. The building is very long and wide. At the west end is the hall in front and the dinning-room in the rear, with only a partition between them. In the second story over the hall is the library. It was once large, but most of the books were pillaged by the British soldiery, and a greater part of the shelves are now empty. Here I found a number of volumes of Dr. Hill's Natural History.

It consists of thirty volumes, in large folios, but the greater part of them were carried off by the British. This is the fate of war. The engravings of the plants are well executed, and it is the best work of that voluminous writer. It cost one hundred guineas, and is the only set ever imported to America. On the opposite side is the apparatus chamber, but this suffered the same fate with the library, and few articles, and those of little consideration, remain. In the third story, over the library, is the chamber where the Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy delivers his lectures and instructs the classes in mathematics. It is very prettily prepared for the purpose. He is an agreeable gentleman, and appeared to be well informed in the line of his professorship.

Adjoining this chamber is the apparatus which he uses in the course of his instruction. It is new and very elegant, consisting of a small reflecting achromatic telescope, a fine compound microscope, a camera-obscura on a new plan, a complete apparatus of mechanical powers, a new set of two feet globes, and several other instruments. I was much pleased with a new constructed compass, so formed as to take azimuths to show the dip of the needle and variations, with an instrument adjusted to it for taking bearings and altitudes. It cost sixty guineas. Here was an electrical machine, but of little value in making experiments on the large scale.

There are about 150 students in the college. Dr. Sam. Johnson, of Connecticut, was lately elected President, as successor to his father, the late President, but has not yet accepted the invitation. The presiding Professor is a Dutchman, but very polite, and invited us to his chamber at the opposite end of the college, where he lives with his wife and family in a very pretty style. I was pleased with the college, and the civilities and attention of the Governors. It stands in a fine, airy situation, toward North River, just in the edge of the city.

Dined with Colonel Duer, in company with Mr. Osgood,* President of the Board of Treasury, Major Sargent, and several other gentlemen. I was never more deceived in any thing I ever drank than in a tumbler of bottled cider, occasioned by the ice which I put into it—for I had no conception what it was, and supposed it to be a species of liquor I had never before tasted. It was exceedingly fine.

At table we were honored with the company of Mademoiselle La Fouche, a French lady of the family of one of the noblesse, and Lady Kitty, the wife of Colonel Duer. Lady Kitty, for so she is called, was the daughter of Lord Sterling, and inherits the title from her father, who had no male heir. She is a fine woman, though not a beauty, very sociable, and with most accomplished manners. She performed the honors of the table most gracefully, was constantly attended by two servants in livery, and insisted on performing the whole herself. Colonel Duer † is Secretary to the Board of Treasury, and lives in the style of a nobleman. I presume he had not less than fifteen different sorts of wine at dinner, and after the cloth was removed, besides most excellent bottled cider, porter, and several other kinds of strong beer.

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* Samuel Osgood was a native of Andover, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Harvard College, 1770. Served for a short time in the revolution as Aid to General Ward and as Commissary. In 1780 was chosen delegate to Congress. In 1785 he was appointed one of the Board of Treasury. He was Postmaster-General from 1789 to 1791; was afterward member of New York Legislature, and from 1803 until his death, in 1813, was naval officer of the Port of New York. "He was well versed in science and literature, and distinguished for integrity, public spirit, and piety."—*See Drake's Dict. Am. Biography.*

† William Duer was born in England in 1747. At the age of eighteen he entered the English army, and served in India as Aid to Lord Clive. By the death of his father he became the owner of a handsome property, the care of which, together with ill health, induced

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him to leave the army. In 1768 he came to New York to secure a supply of lumber for the family plantations in the West Indies, and to fulfill a contract for masts for the British navy. By the advice of General Philip Schuyler and Lord Stirling, he purchased a large tract of land in the town of Argyle, on the east bank of the Hudson River. Here he laid out a town and made his home. He was soon commissioned Colonel of militia, and appointed Judge of the County Court. He espoused the cause of the Colonies in the War of the Revolution, served as a member of the Provincial Congress, of the Convention called by New York to form a State Constitution, and, with John Jay, Egbert Benson, and Comfort Sands, as a member of the Committee of Safety of New York. He was a member of the Continental Congress, and, despite his youth, wielded a commanding influence in its counsels. Mainly through his efforts the designs of the famous Conway Cabal, which proposed to deprive Washington of the command of the army, were defeated. In 1779 Colonel Duer married Lady Kitty, the daughter of Lord Stirling, and, at the close of the war, moved with his family to New York. When Robert Morris resigned as Superintendent of Finance, Congress created a Treasury Board of three members, of which Colonel Duer was made Secretary. When the Federal Constitution was adopted, he rendered valuable aid to Alexander Hamilton in organizing the new department. The office of Assistant Secretary was created expressly for him. Few men had more to do with establishing the credit of the new government. He had an extensive acquaintance in Europe, had been engaged in large business transactions, and was known as a bold and successful operator. The fact of his large dealings in United States securities drew the attention of foreign capitalists to them. When Doctor Cutler presented the petition of the Ohio Company for the purchase of lands to Congress, Colonel Duer was quick to see the advantage such a sale would be to the public credit, and the value that would be given to the lands adjoining by a systematic settlement of such men as composed the Ohio Company, and organized the Scioto speculation, whose disastrous history is elsewhere told.

Colonel Duer was largely interested in the establishment of the United States bank, and in 1790 to 1792 had the contract for supplying troops in the North-west Territory. He failed in the panic of 1792, and lost all of his property. Broken in health and fortune, Colonel Duer never again engaged in active business, and died in 1799. See sketch in *Knickerbocker Magazine*, August, 1852.

As Congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal Territory, for which a bill had been prepared, and a copy sent to me, with leave to make remarks and propose amendments, and which I had taken the liberty to remark upon, and to propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable opportunity to go on to Philadelphia. Accordingly, after I had returned the bill with my observations, I set out at 7 o'clock, and crossed North River to Paulus Hook.

The ferry is one mile and three-quarters in width. It was a fine serene evening, and the numerous vessels of almost every possible size, passing up and down, and indeed in every direction, rendered our passage very delightful, though it was 10 o'clock before we landed at the Hook. There is an excellent tavern kept by Smith, where I lodged. There was a great deal of company, but the apartments in the house are so numerous that every person, if he pleases, has one to himself, which is furnished with a genteel field bed. My bill at Barnes', for my horse, 13*s*. 9*d*.; ferriage, 4*s*. 6*d*.

Wednesday, July 11. My bill this morning, 4*s*. 10*d*. Set out early for Philadelphia. Paulus Hook was very strongly fortified, in the time of the late war, by the Americans. It is a point of land surrounded with a marsh, and of very small extent. The fortifications in some parts remain entire.

Two miles from the Hook is Bergentown, a very compact village of considerable extent. It is inhabited entirely by Dutch. There is a large Dutch Church, built with stone, and a handsome steeple. The houses are mostly built with stone, and in the Dutch style, which gives them a very odd appearance to a New England man. They are large on the ground, one and a half story high, sharp pitched roofs, no regularity in doors and windows; and the windows, which appear like dead lights, are generally shut up very close with a window shutter on the outside, so that very little glass appears as you pass through the street. Every house has a piazza in front, and some of them extended round the whole house. This town is said to be remarkable for its wealth. The people are mostly farmers, the women work in the fields, and generally drive the wagons, which are drawn by two or three horses abreast. It is well situated for supplying the markets of New York, which the Dutch people know how to improve to the best advantage. Their own food and clothing costs them but a trifle, and all the money they can get they lock up in their coffers, so that a Dutchman here is called a poor man, and a bad husband, who has not more than 500 guineas in his chest at a time.

After leaving Bergentown I entered a very extensive marsh, which goes far into the country. It is four miles across it, and the road a narrow causeway, sufficient only for one carriage to pass, except at the ferry ways. No carriage sets out from the shore, or from either of the ferry ways, if they see that one coming toward them has entered the causeway, for they can not pass by each other. It is very extraordinary that, on so great a road, so little attention is paid to the public ways in this place. In crossing this extensive marsh, besides several bridges, there are two ferries. The first is over Hackensack River, at Smith's ferry, half a mile across—ferriage, 1*s*. 6*d*. The next is Second River, about half the width—ferriage, 1*s*. 3*d*. The boats are very convenient, for the stages, as well as smaller carriages, drive in and out with the passengers in them.

Made my first stage at Newark, nine miles from New York, at Pell's tavern, a tolerable house. Breakfasted; bill, 2 *s*. 6*d*. Horseshoeing, 3*s*. My horse's side badly galled; purchased a cloth to put under the saddle, 9*s*. Newark is a small village, situated on a plain; it has no considerable buildings. There is a small Church, a Presbyterian Meeting House, and a Dutch Church. Made a short stop at Elizabethtown, six miles from Newark, at Prince's tavern, to get my harness mended; bill, 1*s*. 4*d*. This is a very pretty village; several handsome houses, one Meeting House. A small river empties into the sea at this town, and passes through it, over which is an elegant stone bridge. Dined at Cross Keys, Lott's tavern, in Woodbridge. This tavern is kept in an elegant style. The hostler is at the door, ready to take your horse, which he immediately takes out of the carriage, rubs him down, then washes him with a swab and wipes him dry—which is done in a few minutes, and, I am satisfied, is of as much service as his provender, especially at this hot dusty season, for he has been treated in the same way at every tavern since I left New York, and it has evidently increased his spirits.

The land from Bergentown to this stage is level, the road excellent, the soil good. The face of the country has the appearance of wealth, but I suspect the farmers are rather lazy. The houses from Elizabethtown, which is ten miles, are rather scattered, though they are well built, and in good repair.

I passed through Spanktown, but the Meeting House, and the thickest of the buildings, were at some distance. It is a small village, of no consideration. Bill, 4*d*.

My next stage was New Brunswick, ten miles. On my way passed through Bonhamtown; the houses scattered, farms good, and road fine. Orchards, and every species of fruit trees, abound in the part of New Jersey. New Brunswick is a large town, well built, and situated on the west bank of the Raritan River, over which is a ferry of about half a mile, and passengers are landed at the foot of the main street. Many of the buildings are brick and stone; but the attention of travelers is principally engaged by a very lengthy brick building, just above the town, two stories high, and in a most delightful situation. It was built by the Americans for barracks, and afterward improved as a hospital; but so elegant is this building, that I conceived it must have been designed for an academy or college, until I was otherwise informed.

There seems to be considerable trade carried on in this town, though the shipping consists of only small craft, and even that was very inconsiderable. The Raritan is a beautiful river, but the water is very shoal. The ferryman told me that in dry seasons it had been forded where the boat passed. Ferriage, 1*s*. 6*d*. Made a short stage at the Lion, where my horse was treated as before; bill, 1*s*. From this stage I traveled to Princeton, 17 miles, where I arrived at ten in the evening. As the day had been very hot, I found myself sufficiently fatigued, though the roads had been excellent, and the country delightful. Lodged at the sign of the College—Beekman's tavern—52 miles from New York, and 354 miles from home.

The land about New Brunswick is not very good. The soil is a reddish earth, but just under it is a stratum of crumbling stone. The road in many places was gullied several feet deep in this stone, but still level and hard. The ruts, however, were sometimes so deep, as very much to incommode my carriage, for the axle-tree was longer than is used in this country. The crops of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and flax, which I observed in the course of this day's travel, were very fine. The general face of the country rather flat, though now and then I ascended eminences which afforded an extensive prospect. The wheat was in many places reaped, in some shocked in the field, and the whole appeared to be ripe, but, to my surprise, I saw very few people at labor in their fields, or anywhere else.

Thursday, July 12. I rose very early this morning, and took a view of Princeton. It is a small town—or, rather, has but a small number of houses in the most compact part—but it is most delightfully situated on the summit of a very broad hill, which descends every way with a long easy slope, and commands a most extensive prospect in every direction. Few of the buildings are large, none very elegant. The people are principally farmers, and the soil rich and strong. The College (Nassau Hall) is spacious, built of stone, and stands on the highest ground in the town. It fronts to the north, and toward the street, and has before it a very large yard, walled in with stone and lime. The ground descends considerably from the College to the street, which gives it a lofty appearance.

At half past 5 I ventured to call on Colonel Morgan* (to whom I had letters), though I was doubtful whether I should find him up. He was, however, in his parlor, engaged with his books, and received me very politlely. He is a farmer in

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*Colonel George Morgan, born in Philadelphia. During the war, from 1777 to its close, he acted as Indian Agent for the United States. In 1784, laid out the town of New Madrid, under a grant from the Spanish government of a large tract of land. After the war he settled on a farm near Princeton, N. J., where his fine taste in agriculture had room to display itself. His farm became a model one—making many improvements in agriculture, and writing several valuable articles on the habits of the Hessian fly, then first seen in the wheat fields of America.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

the strictest sense, and I believe the first in America in the knowledge of agriculture, and, besides, is a literary character. His house stands a little back of the College, and in a situation which commands a complete view of his whole farm, consisting of about 200 acres. Here I saw verified what I had before often heard observed, that the boundaries of his farm might be easily distinguished from his neighbors', from its high state of cultivation.

He gave me a general history of his improvements, and of the experiments he was then making. His barn and yard are truly curiosities. His garden consists of three acres, and is principally employed for making experiments, which appeared to be well judged and critically attended to. Here I saw the Hessian fly, as it is called, which has done immense injury to wheat. Our country is under much obligation to this gentleman for the discoveries he has made, and the information he has given, respecting this insect, in consequence of his experiments. It has enabled the farmers in this part of the country to get rid of an insect that had wholly cut off their crops of grain for several years successively. In his garden he had Indian corn growing, in long rows, from different kinds of seed, collected from the different latitudes on this Continent, as far north as the most northern parts of Canada, and south as far as the West Indies. His Apiary struck me with astonishment. On the southern side of his garden he had 64 swarms of bees in a line, which I judged extended more than 15 rods. He takes the honey when he pleases, without destroying the bees. I much regretted the want of time; being determined this day to reach Philadelphia, I was obliged to take my leave before my curiosity was one-half gratified. It was with the utmost difficulty I could prevail on him to excuse my tarrying longer, particularly as a son of his, who was then from home, but every moment expected, had begun the study of Botany. He was very anxious that I should converse with him, and give him particular directions for pursuing the study. Nothing would avail but a promise to call on him on my return, and to consent to take his son under my instruction, if he could find no person sufficiently versed in the science near to him.

I then called on Dr. Smith, the Vice-president of the College, to whom I also had letters. He is a young gentleman, lives in elegant style, and is the first literary character in this state. He waited on me to the college. The building is three stories, has three cross and one long entry in the first story. There are long entries in each story, which are in the center, and extend from end to end. Every chamber opens into these entries, rendering communication vastly more convenient. The library is small; many of the books were taken out by the British troops, which they were not so complaisant as to return. The cabinet and philosophical apparatus are very indifferent. The only article worthy of notice was the orrery, made by Mr. Rittenhouse. This is an elegant machine, and much exceeds any that have been made in Europe. I was, however, much disappointed to find that part of it was sent to Philadelphia to be repaired, which consisted of the whole of the terrestrial and lunar motions, the most curious part of the machine. I was much pleased with the hall and the stage erected in it for exhibitions. It is well formed for plays, which are permitted here, and dialogue-speaking principally cultivated. This hall is ornamented with several paintings, particularly the famous battle in this town the next morning after the capture of the Hessians at Trenton. It is, I believe, more than six feet square, done on canvas, and executed in a masterly manner by Mr. Peele, of Philadelphia. The principal figure is General Washington at the head of his army, emerging from a thick wood, forming and advancing in a regular manner, the British fleeing in confusion, leaving many slain on the ground, but the pleasure of the scene is greatly diminished by a view of General Mercer wallowing in his gore. He was at the head of the advanced guard, and was slain at the first attack. After viewing this scene on canvas, we ascended the cupola and took a view of the ground itself on which the battle was fought, the manner of the attack, and the several directions in which the British fled. It was no small gratification to take so extensive a view, as this situation afforded, of the place where so important an event in the history of the American revolution occurred.

Here again I felt myself straightened for time, and was obliged to take my leave of Doctor Smith, who had shown me the most polite attention, rather abruptly, but I promised to call on him on my return. When I returned to town I had the good fortune to find a gentleman going on to Philadelphia in a sulky. Bill, 6*s.* 6*d.*, Pennsylvania money.

In about five miles we passed through a town, called Maidenhead, of no consideration, for the houses were as scattered as in other parts of the country. We made our first stage at Trenton, thirteen miles, at Vandergrift's tavern, at the ferry. This town is at a short distance from the Delaware, on a river which comes from the south-east and unites with the Delaware at this place. There is only one small Meeting House and a small church in this town. I therefore conclude the people are not much disposed to attend public worship, for the two houses, I presume, are not sufficient to hold one-third of the inhabitants. Over the river, in the compact part of the town, is a spacious stone bridge, supported by arches built with stone and lime, and a high wall on each side, handsomely laid. At the foot of the bridge are mills for grinding and bolting wheat. These mills are contained in a very large stone building, three stories high, and are remarkable for the prodigious quantity and the excellent quality of the flour, which is ground in them every twenty-four hours. I felt a curiosity to examine them, but as the tavern where we proposed to make our stage was at some distance, the day very hot, and our time for reaching Philadelphia short, I concluded to postpone it until my return. The houses in this, and, indeed, in all the towns in New Jersey, are built in a style very different from that of New England, but I think it is far less elegant. The want of large Meeting Houses and towering steeples is a great defect, and diminishes that air of grandeur which adorns almost every New England village. Neither are the houses so spacious nor so well built. But this town stands high in the list of fame, and will be remembered by future ages on account of the memorable victory, and indeed the first complete victory, obtained by the illustrious Washington over the British army—the capture of a large detachment of Hessian troops cantoned in this town. From the hill we ascend immediately after we had passed the bridge, my companion pointed out to me the course of the American army as they came down on the Hessians on both sides of the river; the spot where the first sentry was surprised, the advance guard taken without firing a gun, the manner of surrounding and invading the town. The ground where the Hessians formed, planted their artillery, and engaged the American troops, was in the main street, on the opposite side of the bridge. After a warm fire, on both sides, which lasted only a few minutes, the Hessians laid down their arms and surrendered prisoners of war. A small number of their troops, stationed on this hill, made their escape. I must confess that a view of the ground where this important scene was acted excited in me the most sensible feelings of American pride. I participated in the pleasing sensations that must have pervaded our harassed and desponding army on this change of fortune.

By this time I began to felicitate myself on my good fortune in finding I had met with another fellow traveler not less intelligent, sociable, and agreeable than the one I traveled with from Horse-neck to New York. Vandergrift's is a good house. Our horses were led into the river, well washed, and then wiped dry. Bill and ferriage, 3*s*. 3*d*. Here we crossed the Delaware, at what is called the lower ferry, and landed in the State of Pennsylvania. The river is about three-quarters of a mile wide, but the water not deep. About half a mile above us is a kind of bar of rocks, many of them out of the water, and the stream broken and rapid; but large flat-bottomed boats pass up and down, and ascend the river for more than a hundred miles.

On the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware is a famous forge, slitting-mill, and rolling-mill, and several mills for grinding and bolting flour. Near them are several long buildings in the form of barracks, occupied by nail-makers, but we had not time to visit them. These works are owned by Mr. Morris, the American financier. At a small distance from the ferry, we entered an extensive tract of woodland, the road nearly straight, almost perfectly level, and free from sand or stones, and not a house to be seen for about five miles. The growth, oak, hickory, walnut, and some maple. Here I first saw the persimmon tree, which produces fruit having, when ripe, a sweet and agreeable taste. It is distilled into a spirit said to be equal in taste and flavor to West India rum. They are also brewed, and make excellent beer. These trees are common on the wayside. In several places I saw the tulip tree, which is large, tall, and straight, and when in full bloom must make a delightful appearance. The fruit at this time is small. The general complexion of the trees and their foliage is different from those of New England.

Made our next stage at Bristol, Bissennett's tavern, where we dined in company with the passengers in the stage. The tavern is kept in high style. There were eight passengers, my fellow traveler, and myself at table. There was nothing extraordinary in our dinner, except the number of our dishes, which were about eight or ten. Beyond the New England States, no kind of drink is set on the table at taverns, but you call for what you please, and it is charged in the bill. There was a side-table, well furnished with different kinds of wine and porter, and every one made choice for himself, without regard to others. But the whole was charged in the general bill and the amount averaged. It was 8*s.* each, besides 3*s.* which my companion and myself had to pay between us for our horses. These tavern-keepers excel in providing well for travelers and in their attendance, but they as perfectly understand the art of making out their bills when they have done. In the stage were General Armstrong and Colonel Franks. General Armstrong is a member of Congress, with whom I had had a small acquaintance in New York. Franks was an Aid to General Arnold at the time of his desertion to the British. Both of them high Bucks, and affected, as I conceived, to hold the New England States in contempt. They had repeatedly touched my Yankee blood in their conversation at table; but I was much on the reserve, until after we had dined. Some severe reflections on the conduct of Rhode Island and the insurgency in Massachusetts, placing the two states in the same point of light, induced me to observe that, "I had no doubt but that the conduct of Rhode Island would prove of infinite service to the Union, that the insurgency in

Massachusetts would eventually tend to invigorate and establish our Government, and that I conceived the State of Pennsylvania, divided and distracted as she then was in her councils (the large county of Luzerne on the eve of an insurrection), to be in as hazardous a situation as any on the Continent." This instantly brought on a warm fracas, indeed. The cudgels were taken up on both sides; the contest as fierce as if the fate of empires depended on the decision; the attention of the whole company engaged. My little companion was roused, fire sparkled in his eyes, and, like a faithful second, was determined to support me. Right or wrong, he would contradict every thing advanced by my antagonists. At length, victory declared in our favor. Armstrong began to make concessions; Franks, with more reluctance, at length gave up the ground. Both acknowledged the New England States were entitled to an equal share of merit with any in the Union, and declared they had no intention to reflect. We had the satisfaction to quit the field with an air of triumph, which my little companion enjoyed with high relish; nor could he forget it all the way to Philadelphia. But we parted with our antagonists on terms of perfect good humor and complaisance. My companion frequently mentioned, afterwards, the pleasure it gave him to see Armstrong and Franks so completely taken down, as he expressed it, which led me to conclude he was of the party opposed to them in political quarrels at Philadelphia.

Bristol is a considerable town. The houses are built rather in the Dutch style, though generally higher, and not so large on the ground. There is considerable commerce carried on here. Vessels may lie alongside the houses on the bank of the river. The tavern where we dined is a very large pile of buildings, with numerous apartments. It stands on the bank of the Delaware, and has a most delightful piazza on the side next the river, which extends the whole length of the house, and is entirely over the water, affording a most beautiful prospect up and down this majestic river. On the opposite shore (Jersey side) is Burlington, a large, well-built town; a handsome Meeting House, with a steeple; and considerable shipping, at the wharves. In Bristol the only building I observed for worship was a small low church.

From this place to Philadelphia the land is exceedingly rich and fertile, producing a great quantity of excellent fruit, Indian corn, and the finest wheat. In some places I saw fields of corn, the rows of which I judged to be a mile in length. The people do not hoe their corn at all, but plow it both ways. The farmers' houses are very neat, but not large, generally two-stories high, and sometimes three, universally painted. Some of them are built of logs, and these are also painted, and very handsome. Their gardens are well formed and abound with flowers, as well as fruit trees and esculents. I saw but few laborers in their fields, for the wheat harvest was generally over. The numerous shocks of grain in the field demonstrated the richness of the soil. The face of the country is level, and the roads fine. At almost every house the farmers and their wives were sitting in their cool entries, or under the piazzas and shady trees about their doors. I observed the men generally wore fine Holland shirts, with the sleeves plaited, the women in clean, cool, white dresses, enjoying the ease and pleasures of domestic life, with few cares, less labor, and abounding in plenty.

Five miles from Bristol we crossed a large river, called Shaminy,* on a floating bridge. Ten miles further, we passed through Frankfort, a Dutch village; the houses compact on each side of the street for about a mile, but no buildings of consequence. From this to Philadelphia is five miles. Passed over many fine stone bridges, supported by arches.

We arrived at Philadelphia half after six, and my companion conducted me to the Indian Queen, a livery tavern, kept by Thompson. Here we exchanged names, but I was so unfortunate, in less than ten minutes, to lose his name, and can not recollect it. He promised to call on me the next morning. Spent the evening with several members of Congress.

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* Now called Neshanimy Creek.

CHAPTER VII.

AT NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA—LETTERS TO HAZARD AND SARGENT—DIARY OF 1787.

Friday, July 13. This tavern (Indian Queen) is situated in Third Street, between Market Street and Chestnut Street, and is not far from the center of the city. It is kept in an elegant style, and consists of a large pile of buildings, with many spacious halls, and numerous small apartments, appropriated for lodging rooms. As soon as I had inquired of the bar-keeper, when I arrived last evening, if I could be furnished with lodgings, a livery servant was ordered immediately to attend me, who received my baggage from the hostler, and conducted me to the apartment assigned by the bar-keeper, which was a rather small but a very handsome chamber (No. 9), furnished with a rich field bed, bureau, table with drawers, a large looking-glass, neat chairs, and other furniture. Its front was east, and, being in the third story, afforded a fine prospect toward the river and the Jersey shore. The servant that attended me was a young, sprightly, well-built black fellow, neatly dressed—blue coat, sleeves and cape red, and buff waistcoat and breeches, the bosom of his shirt ruffled, and hair powdered. After he had brought up my baggage and properly deposited it in the chamber, he brought two of the latest London magazines and laid on the table. I ordered him to call a barber, furnish me with a bowl of water for washing, and to have tea on the table by the time I was dressed. My intention was to have taken a walk, and delivered some of my letters in the evening, but so much time was occupied in shifting my clothes, getting from under the hands of the barber, and taking tea, I found it too late, and besides felt myself not a little fatigued with my day's journey, which had been 48 miles since 10 in the morning. Distance from New York, 95 miles, and from home, 397.

Being told, while I was at tea, that a number of the Members of the Continental Convention, now convened in this city for the purpose of forming a Federal Constitution, lodged in this house, and that two of them were from Massachusetts, immediately after tea, I sent into their Hall (for they live by themselves) to Mr. Strong, and requested to speak with him. We had never been personally acquainted, nor had I any letter to him, but we had both of us an hearsay knowledge of each other, and Mr. Gerry had lately mentioned to Mr. Strong that he daily expected me, in consequence of a letter he had received from Governor Bowdoin. Mr. Strong* very politely introduced me to Mr. Gorham, of Charlestown, Mass; Mr. Madison and Mr. Mason and his son, of Virginia; Governor Martin, Hon. Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina; the Hon. John Rutledge and Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina; Mr. Hamilton, of New York, who were lodgers in the house, and to several other gentlemen who were spending the evening with them. I spent the evening with these gentlemen very agreeably. Mr. Strong and Mr. Gorham insisted on my sitting a while with them, after the other gentlemen retired, that they might inquire with more freedom and more minutely into state affairs in the Massachusetts. We sat until half after one. They both of them very politely offered to wait on me to any part of the city, and to introduce me to any gentleman of their acquaintance I should wish to see. But I assured them that my business with Congress required so speedy a return to New York that I should be able to spend very little time in Philadelphia, and that my introductory letters were so numerous that I doubted whether I should be able to deliver them all. Mr. Strong proposed going with me in the morning to Mr. Gerry's, as early as I pleased, and so wished them good-night.

I rose very early this morning, and the servant assigned me

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*Hon. Caleb Strong, LL.D. Governor of Massachusetts. Born at Northampton, Mass., 1745; graduated at Harvard, 1764; studied law; a member of Massachusetts Legislature during the war. In 1787, aided in forming the Constitution of the United States. Eight years in the Senate of United States. Governor from 1800 to 1807, and 1812–15. He died 1817. A man of sound piety, exemplary habits, and firmness.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

came into the chamber before I was dressed, to know my commands. Mr. Strong was up as early as myself, and we took a walk to Mr. Gerry's,* in Spruce street, where we breakfasted. Few old bachelors, I believe, have been more fortunate in matrimony than Mr. Gerry. His lady is young, very handsome, and exceedingly amiable. She appears to be possessed of fine accomplishments. I should suppose her not more than 17, and believe he must be turned of 55. They have been married about eighteen months, and have a fine son about two months old, of which they appear both to be extravagantly fond. Mr. Gerry has hired a house, and lives in a family state. I was surprised to find how early ladies in Philadelphia can rise in the morning, and to see them at breakfast at half after five, when in Boston they can hardly see a breakfast table at nine without falling into hysterics. I observed to Mrs. Gerry that it seemed to be an early hour for ladies to breakfast. She said she always rose early, and found it conducive to her health. She was inured to it from her childhood in New York, and that it was the practice of the best families in Philadelphia. Mr. Gerry had received a letter from Governor Bowdoin, requesting that he would wait on me to Dr. Franklin's in person, when I arrived in the city. Although I had several introductory letters to the Doctor, yet I wished for the company of some gentleman of my acquaintance when I paid my respects to that venerable sage. Mr. Gerry expressed a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction in having the opportunity of introducing me to the Doctor, and supposed the best time would be about five in the afternoon—which was agreed on.

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* Elbridge Gerry, born in Marblehead, Mass., July 17, 1744. Graduated at Harvard University, 1772. In the State Legislature in 1773; in the Provincial Congress, 1774; and from thence was sent to the Continental Congress. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. After the peace of 1783, served in the Congress of Confederation. Member of the Constitutional Convention. In 1797, envoy to France. Subsequently chosen Governor of Massachusetts; and afterward Vice-president of the United States, in which office he died at Washington City, November 23, 1814.—*Am. Biog.* (*Samuel L. Knapp*).

Mrs. Gerry was a daughter of James Thompson, and was as distinguished by her beauty and personal worth as by her family and social connections. She died in 1849.—*The Republican Court.*

Mr. Strong went with me, after breakfast, to Dr. Morgan's, in Pine Street, to whom I had letters from Dr. Warren, of Boston, and his brother, at Princeton. The Doctor received me with politeness, and I had the pleasure of introducing Mr. Strong to him, who had not been acquainted with him. But we were very soon interrupted with an urgent message to the Doctor to visit, instantly, a person in a desperate situation. The Doctor, however, while his carriage was getting ready, went with us to Dr. Clarkson's, in the same street, where he and Mr. Strong left me. Dr. Clarkson * is one of those fine, accomplished, benevolent characters which inspire the most exalted ideas of human nature. I found him fully to answer the character I had received of him. My letters to him were from his much-esteemed friend, Mr. Belknap, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Hazard. When he had read my letters, he received me, not merely in the common formalities of politeness, but with the warm affection and friendship of an intimate acquaintance that had been long absent. When he found my stay in the city must be very short, he dismissed all his business, sent his servant to inform his patients that it was not probable he should be able to see them on that day or the next; if any thing special occurred, he must be particularly informed, and devoted himself entirely to wait on me. I was formally introduced to his son, who had just before received Episcopal Ordination from Dr. White, the Bishop of this State, and is about to be settled in one of the churches in this city; and to his three little daughters. Mrs. Clarkson was confined above stairs by a nervous weakness of long standing, which prevented my seeing her. After engaging me to dine with him, he ordered his Phaeton to be harnessed, that we might take a general view of the city, etc. We rode out of the city on the western side, toward the Schuylkill, and passed by the Hospital and Bettering-house.

We continued our route, in view of the Schuylkill, and up

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* Gerardus Clarkson, M. D., an eminent physician of Philadelphia. Commenced practice as early as 1774. Died in September, 1790, aged 53 years.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

the river several miles, and took a view of a number of Country-seats, one belonging to Mr. R. Morris, the American financier, and who is said to be possessed of the greatest fortune in America. His country-seat is not yet completed, but it will be superb. It is planned on a large scale, the gardens and walks are extensive, and the villa, situated on an eminence, has a commanding prospect down the Schuylkill to the Delaware.

We returned to the northern side of the city, and passed through the principal streets in the longest direction of the city and parallel with the Delaware. We also passed up and down most of the streets in the cross direction. This gave me an opportunity of seeing the whole of the city, of viewing it in several directions, and observing all the public buildings. In this tour I delivered most of my letters, but had only time to deliver them, for the Doctor waited for me in his carriage. I was therefore obliged to inform them that my stay would be very short in the city, and was obliged to decline all their invitations. We returned to the Doctor's house about twelve, having rode, by the Doctor's computation, near twenty miles. His horses were very large and fine, and he had as much as he could well do to rein them.

After refreshing ourselves, we took a ramble on foot, called on Doctor Rush, whom we fortunately found at home. The Doctor is the complete gentleman, and one of the first literary characters in America. After reading my letter, and usual ceremony, he expressed much satisfaction in having an opportunity to see me, and told me he had for some time wished for a correspondence. He thanked me very particularly for my Botanical Paper in the Memoirs of the American Academy, and said that Dr. Franklin and he had desired the printers of the Columbian Magazine to publish the extracts from it, which had appeared in that publication. He approved of my plan, and appeared very anxious that I should pursue it. He observed that they were endeavoring to raise a fund for establishing a Botanical Garden in that city, which he hoped they should be able to effect, and assured me that I was the only person who had been in nomination to take the superintendency, and give the Botanical lectures to the students in Physics of the University. This led me to inquire after Mr. Cox, the present Professor of Botany in the University here, and to observe that I was not so fortunate as to have a letter to him, but wished for the favor of being introduced, as I understood he had studied under the immediate instruction of the great Linnæus. Both of the gentlemen readily offered to introduce me, but both observed they believed it would afford me very little satisfaction; that he did not pretend to give lectures, had never attended to the practical part, and perhaps was not a very complete master of the theory. Finding that they seemed inclined to keep their Botanist out of sight, I did not insist on seeing him. But Dr. Rush observed that Mr. Bartram[*] had much more botanical knowledge than Cox, and employed much of his time in the examination of plants. He imagined I would be pleased with him, and wished I would find time to visit him. Dr. Clarkson proposed a ride early the next morning to Bartram's seat, two miles beyond the Schuylkill. Dr. Rush said he should be very happy to accompany us, but it was the day for his formal visit to the Hospital, which must commence precisely at 11 o'clock, and he had some special business to settle with the Directors, whom he had engaged to meet at seven in the morning, and was of such a nature that it could not be postponed. He asked me if I had seen the Hospital, or had any inclination to attend the visitation with him. I then concluded to go out to Bartram's with Dr. Clarkson in his Phaeton at six, and we were to meet Dr. Rush at the Hospital at 11 o'clock, and engaged to dine with him. We returned to Dr. Clarkson's and dined.

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[*] William Bartram, naturalist; born, Kingsissing, Penn., 1739; died, 1823. Studied natural history with his father. In 1773 to 1778, he explored Florida, the Carolinas, and Georgia, and transmitted to his employer, Dr. Fothergill, at London, his valuable collections. In 1782, he was elected Professor of Botany in the University of Philadelphia, but declined on account of ill health. In 1786, he became a member of the American Philosophical Society, and was admitted into other scientific bodies, home and abroad. In 1791, he published a book of travels, including an account of the Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw Indians. He was the author of the most complete table of American Ornithology which had appeared previous to the work of Wilson. He published other books, among them the "Memoirs of J. Bartram."—*See Drake's Dictionary Am. Biog.*

Immediately after Dinner, we called on Mr. Peale,* to see his collection of paintings and natural curiosities. We were conducted into a room by a boy, who told us that Mr. Peale would wait on us in a minute or two. He desired us, however, to walk into the room where the curiosities were, and showed us a long narrow entry which led into the room. I observed, through a glass window at my right hand, a gentleman close to me, standing with a pencil in one hand, and a small sheet of ivory in the other, and his eyes directed to the opposite side of the room, as though he was taking some object on his ivory sheet. Dr. Clarkson did not see this man until he stepped into the room, but instantly turned about and came back, saying, "Mr. Peale is very busy, taking the picture of something with his pencil. We will step back into the other room and wait till he is at leisure." We returned through the entry, but as we entered the room we came from, we met Mr. Peale coming to us. The Doctor started back in astonishment, and cried out, "Mr. Peale, how is it possible you should get out of the other room to meet us here?" Mr. Peale smiled. "I have not been in the other room," says he, "for some time." "No!" says Clarkson, "Did not I see you there this moment, with your pencil and ivory?" "Why, do you think you did?" says Peale. "Do I think I did? Yes," says the Doctor, "I saw you there if I ever saw you in my life." "Well," says

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*Charles Wilson Peale; born, Chestertown, Md., 1741: died, Philadelphia, 1827. He was apprenticed to a saddler, and was successively a saddler, harness-maker, silversmith, watch-maker, carver, and portrait painter. As a recreation from his business of portrait painting, he became a sportsman and an enthusiastic student of natural history. He manufactured for himself a violin and guitar, and invented a variety of machines. He was also a dentist, and the first in this country to make sets of enamel teeth. He received instruction in painting from Copley in Boston and Benjamin West in London. He took part in the battles of Trenton and Germantown, as Captain of a Company in the American Army. He was a member of the Pennsylvania legislature in 1777. His museum was the first of the kind in America.—*See Drake's Dictionary Am. Biography.*

Peale, "let us go and see." When we returned, we found the man standing as before. My astonishment was now nearly equal to that of Dr. Clarkson; for, although I knew what I saw, yet I beheld two men, so perfectly alike that I could not discern the minutest difference. One of them, indeed, had no motion; but he appeared to me to be as *absolutely* alive as the other, and I could hardly help wondering that he did not smile or take a part in the conversation. This was a piece of wax-work which Mr. Peale had just finished, in which he had taken himself. So admirable a performance must have done great honor to his *genius* if it had been that of any other person, but I think it is much more extraordinary that he should be able so perfectly to take himself. To what perfection is this art capable of being carried! By this method, our particular friends and ancestors might be preserved in perfect likeness to the latest generation. We seem to be able in some degree to disappoint the ravages of time, and prevent mortality itself, the common lot of man, from concealing from us in its dreary retreats our dearest connections. This room is constructed in a very singular manner, for the purpose of Exhibitions, where various scenery in paintings is exhibited in a manner that has a most astonishing effect. It is very long but not very wide, has no windows, nor floor over it, but is open up to the roof, which is two or three stories, and from above the light is admitted in greater or less quantities at pleasure. The walls of the room are covered with paintings, both portrait and historic. One particular part is assigned to the portraits of the principal American characters who appeared on the stage during the late revolution, either in the councils or armies of their country. The drapery was excellent, and the likenesses of all of whom I had any personal knowledge were well taken. I fancied myself introduced to all the General Officers that had been in the field during the war, whether dead or alive, for I think he had every one, and to most of the members of Congress and other distinguished characters. To grace his collection, he had a number of the most distinguished clergymen in the middle and southern states who had, in some way or other, been active in the revolution. In other parts were a number of fine historic pieces, executed in a masterly manner. At the upper end of the room, General Washington, at full length and nearly as large as the life, was placed, as President of this sage and martial assembly. At the opposite end, under a small gallery, his natural curiosities were arranged in a most romantic and amusing manner. There was a mound of earth, considerably raised and covered with green turf, from which a number of trees ascended and branched out in different directions. On the declivity of this mound was a small thicket, and just below it an artificial pond; on the other side a number of large and small rocks of different kinds, collected from different parts of the world, and represented the rude state in which they are generally found. At the foot of the mound were holes dug and the earth thrown up, to show the different kinds of clay, ochre, coal, marl, etc., which he had collected from different parts; also, various ores and minerals. Around the pond was a beach, on which was exhibited an assortment of shells of different kinds, turtles, frogs, toads, lizards, water-snakes, etc. In the pond was a collection of fish with their skins stuffed, water-fowls, such as the different species of geese, ducks, cranes, herons, etc.; all having the appearance of life, for their skins were admirably preserved. On the mound were those birds which commonly walk on the ground, as the partridge, quail, heath-hen, etc.; also, different kinds of wild animals—bear, deer, leopard, tiger, wild-cat, fox, raccoon, rabbit, squirrel, etc. In the thickets and among the rocks, land-snakes, rattle-snakes of an enormous size, black, glass, striped, and a number of other snakes. The boughs of the trees were loaded with birds, some of almost every species in America, and many exotics. In short, it is not in my power to give any particular account of the numerous species of fossils and animals, but only their general arrangement. What heightened the view of this singular collection was that they were all real, either their substance or their skins finely preserved. I was much mortified that it was not in my power to see one of his exhibitions; but these can be performed to advantage only in the night, require very considerable and expensive preparation, and this is not the season of the year in which they are given. This view seems to give some idea of what can be done, but Dr. Clarkson's account of them exceeds all credibility. Mr. Peale's animals reminded me of *Noah's Ark*, into which was received every kind of beast and creeping thing in which there was life. But I can hardly conceive that even Noah could have boasted of a better collection. Mr. Peale was very complaisant, and gave us every information we desired. He requested me to favor him with any of the animals and fossils from this part of America, not already in his museum, which it might be in my power to collect.

From Mr. Peale's we went to the State House. This is a noble building; the architecture is in a richer and grander style than any public building I have before seen. The first story is not an open walk, as is usual in buildings of this kind. In the middle, however, is a very broad cross-aisle, and the floor above supported by two rows of pillars. From this aisle is a broad opening to a large hall, toward the west end, which opening is supported by arches and pillars. In this Hall the Courts are held, and, as you pass the aisle, you have a full view of the Court. The Supreme Court was now sitting. This bench consists of only three judges. Their robes are scarlet; the lawyers', black. The Chief Judge, Mr. McKean, was sitting with his hat on, which is the custom, but struck me as being very odd, and seemed to derogate from the dignity of a judge. The hall east of the aisle is employed for public business. The chamber over it is now occupied by the Continental Convention, which is now sitting, but sentries are planted without and within—to prevent any person from approaching near—who appear to be very alert in the performance of their duty.

We passed through this broad aisle into the *Mall*. It is small, nearly square, and I believe does not contain more than one acre. As you enter the Mall through the State House, which is the only avenue to it, it appears to be nothing more than a large inner Court-yard to the State House, ornamented with trees and walks. But here is a fine display of rural fancy and elegance. It was so lately laid out in its present form that it has not assumed that air of grandeur which time will give it. The trees are yet small, but most judiciously arranged. The artificial mounds of earth, and depressions, and small groves in the squares have a most delightful effect.

The numerous walks are well graveled and rolled hard; they are all in a serpentine direction, which heightens the beauty, and affords constant variety. That painful sameness, commonly to be met with in garden-alleys, and others works of this kind, is happily avoided here, for there are no two parts of the Mall that are alike. Hogarth's "Line of Beauty" is here completely verified. The public are indebted to the fertile fancy and taste of Mr. Sam'l Vaughan, Esq., for the elegance of this plan. It was laid out and executed under his direction about three years ago. The Mall is at present nearly surrounded with buildings, which stand near to the board fence that incloses it, and the parts now vacant will, in a short time, be filled up. On one part the Philosophical Society are erecting a large building for holding their meetings and depositing their Library and Cabinet. This building is begun, and, on another part, a County Court-house is now going up. But, after all the beauty and elegance of this public walk, there is one circumstance that must forever be *disgusting*, and must greatly diminish the pleasure and amusement which these walks would otherwise afford. At the foot of the Mall, and opposite to the Court-house, is the Prison, fronting directly to the Mall. It is very long and high, I believe, four stories, and built of stone. The building itself, which is elegant, would appear well, were it not for its unsavory contents. Your ears are constantly insulted with their Billingsgate language, or your feelings wounded with their pitiful complaints. Their long reed poles, with a little cap of cloth at the end, are constantly extended over into the Mall, in order to receive your charity, which they are incessantly begging. And if you refuse them, they load you with the most foul and horrid imprecations. In short, whatever part of the Mall you are in, this cage of unclean birds is constantly in your view, and their doleful cries attacking your ears.

We next made a visit to the University. On our way we called at Dr. Ewing's, the Provost of the University, who was gone with Mr. Rittenhouse and Mr. Hutchins to settle the line between New York and Massachusetts, and whom I had seen at New York. Dr. Ewing gave me a letter to his lady, which

I delivered. She told me that she had already received a letter from the Doctor, informing her that I should be in the city that week, and that I had given him encouragement, if I spent the Sabbath in Philadelphia, of supplying his Pulpit, for the Doctor is not only the President of the University, but the minister of one of the largest congregations in the city. I assured Mrs. Ewing that it would not be in my power to supply his Desk, as I was absolutely obliged to leave the city the next day. The University is near the Doctor's house. It is a pretty large, but an old and odd-built fabric. It makes no appearance, and the accommodations are very indifferent· The Hall is the most elegant part; it is pretty large, handsomely ornamented, and the inside work consists of considerable carving, in an old-fashioned style. There are very few students that reside within the walls, not more than fifty; but, if you inquire the number of students that belong to the University, they will tell you between three and four hundred, for all the principal schools in the city come within the limits of the charter of the University, and are under its government, and scholars belonging to them are admitted to Degrees, after having made proper proficiency in science. This University was originally designed for educating students in Physics only, and was established by Episcopalians and Quakers, but, since the Revolution, the charter and privileges are extended, and it furnishes many young gentlemen for the desk and the bar. The endowments are very ample, supporting a large number of professors. The shortness of my time did not admit of my calling on any of them. We waited on only two of the tutors. The Library is very small, consisting only of a few antiquated authors, and the apparatus not much better. Mr. Rittenhouse's orrery is the only instrument worthy of notice; the Cabinet is trifling. But the want of these in the University is pretty well supplied by the large and valuable collection of books, instruments, and natural curiosities in Carpenter's Hall.

From the University we went through those streets where the Meeting Houses and Churches are situated, and took a view of them. The principal are the two large Meeting Houses belonging to Dr. Ewing and Dr. Sprout; two Churches, the one where Bishop White officiates, and the other, that of the late Mr. Duche. There are a great number of other Houses of Worship of different denominations, besides a Romam Catholic Church, and a Synagogue of the Jews. In our ramble we called a few minutes on Bishop White, who was just going out, and we did not detain him, for we had but a moment's time. I also called a minute on Dr. Sprout, to whom I had letters. He is between seventy and eighty, and the very picture of Father Rogers, of Ipswich. The old gentleman urged us exceedingly to tarry, but it was not in our power. He is the minister of the Meeting House built for the famous Gilbert Tennent, and his immediate successor, but has now a colleague settled with him. Our next call was on Mr. John Vaughan,* son of Samuel Vaughan, Esq., and the brother of my friends, Charles and Samuel Vaughan. I had letters to the old gentleman, but, very unfortunately for me, he was gone on a journey into the Ohio country. The young gentleman, however, received me with every expression of warmest friendship, urged me to take lodgings with him, and dismissed all business, to devote himself to me. He mentioned his brothers having often spoken of their acquaintance with me, and was acquainted with the correspondence which his brother Samuel and I had continued from our first acquaintance. He is not married, and, since his mother and sisters went to London in the spring with his brother Samuel, he and his father keep bachelors' hall in a very elegant home in fore street. He is in a very large circle of trade, in partnership with another young gentleman. I informed him of my engagement to go with Mr. Gerry to Dr. Franklin's, and that the hour was then arrived. He could not be denied the pleasure, he said, of going with us, for Dr. Franklin he considered as his father, having lived a number of years with him, and the two families were so strongly connected that they considered themselves as one and the same.

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*John, Samuel, Charles, and Benjamin Vaughan were the sons of Samuel and Sarah (Hallowell) Vaughan. Samuel Vaughan, Sr., was a wealthy merchant who, after residing several years in Jamaica, removed to London, and from there to America. Charles Vaughan came early to this country, and settled in Boston, was married, November 20, 1788, to Frances W., daughter of John Apthorp, Esq., of Boston, by the Rev. Samuel Parker, D.D., of Trinity Church. Mr. Vaughan was a man of great energy and enterprise. In his prosperity he stood among the foremost rank of merchants in this country. He was a gentleman of courteous address and extensive reading. John Vaughan settled in Philadelphia. For sixty-five years he was Secretary of the American Philosophical Society. He wrote some valuable articles which they published. He corresponded with eminent men, and was intimately acquainted with Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson. He possessed great public spirit and philanthrophy, and his kindness secured him many friends. He lived single, yet, from his social qualities, many a fair one wondered it should be so. His extensive information, purity of life, and tender, benevolent feelings will always be remembered while the "City of Brotherly Love" honors her worthies. Reference to the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society will show how much his loss was felt. Samuel Vaughan died December 4, 1802. Benjamin Vaughan, M.D., LL.D., was born in Jamaica, April 19, 1751. Sent to school at Hackney, England; afterward, to the Academy at Warrington, and resided in the family of his preceptor, Dr. Priestly. At the age of 19, admitted to Cambridge University. Studied law at the Temple, in London; medicine in Edinburgh. Afterward, became Private Secretary to Lord Shelburne. He married Sarah, daughter of William Manning, a wealthy London merchant. (He was an intimate friend of Franklin, and edited a volume of his works, which appeared

When we came to Mr. Gerry's, he was waiting for us; but, as he supposed we had time enough, and feeling myself much fatigued, we sat about half an hour. There were two young ladies by the name of Hamlinton on a visit to Mr. Gerry. They were dressed very rich indeed, but were entirely sociable and agreeable. Mr. Vaughan took a large share in the conversation, and, with his easy and natural pleasantry, kept

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in London in 1779. (See Parton's Life of Franklin.) He emigrated to America, and removing to Hallowell, on the Kennebec River, in 1796, where there was a large inheritance of land from his grandfather. Here he resided till his death. His mansion, the "White House," on the hill, was the abode of hospitality. It was furnished in a costly style, but simple. He had a fine library, supposed to contain 10,000 volumes, and made large donations of books to Harvard University and Bowdoin College. The influence a man of fortune, learning, and piety may exert in a country village is beyond calculation. Every man, woman, and child looked up to him. He was the magnate of the place. In religion, education, love of reading, etc:, he gave a healthy tone to society. He died at the age of 85.—*Hist. and Genealogical Reg.*, Oct., 1865.

us in a burst of laughter. I knew that Mr. Vaughan was not acquainted with Mr. Gerry. I therefore introduced him, which Mr. Gerry likewise did to his lady and the company. But I immediately supposed the young ladies, from his instant and free sociability, were of his most intimate acquaintance. He appeared to me to know every thing about them and every body else that was mentioned in the course of the conversation. But, on our way to Dr. Franklin's, he asked me if those young ladies were of my acquaintance, and what were their names, for they had slipped his memory. This excited my astonishment. I asked him if he had never seen them before. He said no, and he was sure they did not belong to Philadelphia, or he certainly should have had some knowledge of them. Mr. Gerry informed us they were from New York, and of Mrs. Gerry's particular acquaintance. What advantages are derived from a finished education and the best of company! How does it banish that awkward stiffness, so common when strangers meet in company! How does it engage the most perfect strangers in all the freedom of an easy and pleasing sociability, common only to the most intimate friends!

Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street, between Second and Third Streets, but his house stands up a court-yard at some distance from the street. We found him in his Garden, sitting upon a grass plat under a very large Mulberry, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies. There was no curiosity in Philadelphia which I felt so anxious to see as this great man, who has been the wonder of Europe as well as the glory of America. But a man who stood first in the literary world, and had spent so many years in the Courts of Kings, particularly in the refined Court of France, I conceived would not be of very easy access, and must certainly have much of the air of grandeur and majesty about him. Common folks must expect only to gaze at him at a distance, and answer such questions as he might please to ask. In short, when I entered his house, I felt as if I was going to be introduced to the presence of an European Monarch. But how were my ideas changed, when I saw a short, fat, trunched old man, in a plain Quaker dress, bald pate, and short white locks, sitting without his hat under the tree, and, as Mr. Gerry introduced me, rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy to see me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenance open, frank, and pleasing. He instantly reminded me of old Captain Cummings, for he is nearly of his pitch, and no more of the air of superiority about him. I delivered him my letters. After he had read them, he took me again by the hand, and, with the usual compliments, introduced me to the other gentlemen of the company, who were most of them members of the Convention. Here we entered into a free conversation, and spent our time most agreeably until it was dark. The tea-table was spread under the tree, and Mrs. Bache, a very gross and rather homely lady, who is the only daughter of the Doctor and lives with him, served it out to the company. She had three of her children about her, over whom she seemed to have no kind of command, but who appeared to be excessively fond of their Grandpapa. The Doctor showed me a curiosity he had just received, and with which he was much pleased. It was a snake with two heads, preserved in a large vial. It was taken near the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware, about four miles from this city. It was about ten inches long, well proportioned, the heads perfect, and united to the body about one-fourth of an inch below the extremities of the jaws. The snake was of a dark brown, approaching to black, and the back beautifully speckled (if beauty can be applied to a snake) with white; the belly was rather checkered with a reddish color and white. The Doctor supposed it to be full grown, which I think appears probable, and thinks it must be a *sui generis* of that class of animals. He grounds his opinion of its not being an extraordinary production, but a distinct genus, on the perfect form of the snake, the probability of its being of some age, and there having been found a snake entirely similar (of which the Doctor has a drawing, which he showed us) near Lake Champlain, in the time of the late war. The Doctor mentioned the situation of this snake, if it was traveling among bushes, and one head should choose to go on one side of the stem of a bush and the other head should prefer the other side, and that neither of the heads would consent to come back or give way to the other. He was then going to mention a humorous matter that had that day taken place in Convention, in consequence of his comparing the snake to America, for he seemed to forget that every thing in Convention was to be kept a profound secret; but the secrecy of Convention matters was suggested to him, which stopped him, and deprived me of the story he was going to tell. After it was dark, we went into the house, and the Doctor invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high studded. The walls were covered with book-shelves filled with books; besides, there are four large alcoves, extending two-thirds of the length of the Chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is the largest, and by far the best, private library in America. He showed us a glass machine for exhibiting the circulation of the blood in the arteries and veins of the human body. The circulation is exhibited by the passing of a red fluid from a reservoir into numerous capillary tubes of glass, ramified in every direction, and then returning in similar tubes to the reservoir, which was done with great velocity, without any power to act visibly on the fluid, and had the appearance of perpetual motion. Another great curiosity was a rolling press, for taking the copies of letters or any other writing. A sheet of paper is completely copied in less than two minutes, the copy as fair as the original, and without effacing it in the smallest degree. It is an invention of his own, and extremely useful in many situations in life. He also showed us his long artificial arm and hand, for taking down and putting books up on high shelves which are out of reach; and his great armed chair, with rockers, and a large fan placed over it, with which he fans himself, keeps off flies, etc., while he sits reading, with only a small motion of his foot; and many other curiosities and inventions, all his own, but of lesser note. Over his mantel-tree, he has a prodigious number of medals, busts, and casts in wax or plaster of Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted characters in Europe. But what the Doctor wished principally to show to me was a huge volume on Botany, and which, indeed, afforded me the greatest pleasure of any one thing in his library. It was a single volume, but so large that it was with great difficulty that the Doctor was able to raise it from a low shelf and lift it on to the table; but with that senile ambition common to old people, he insisted on doing it himself, and would permit no person to assist him, merely to show us how much strength he had remaining. It contained the whole of Linnæus Systima Vegetabilia, with large cuts of every plant, and colored from nature. It was a feast to me, and the Doctor seemed to enjoy it as well as myself. We spent a couple of hours in examining this volume, while the other gentlemen amused themselves with other matters. The Doctor is not a Botanist, but lamented that he did not in early life attend to this science. He delights in natural history, and expressed an earnest wish that I would pursue the plan I had begun, and hoped this science, so much neglected in America, would be pursued with as much ardor here as it is now in every part of Europe. I wanted for three months at least to have devoted myself entirely to this one volume. But fearing I should be tedious to the Doctor, I shut up the volume, though he urged me to examine it longer. The Doctor seemed extremely fond, through the course of the visit, of dwelling on Philosophical subjects, and particularly that of natural History, while the other Gentlemen were swallowed up with politics. This was a favorable circumstance to me, for almost the whole of his conversation was addressed to me; and I was highly delighted with the extensive knowledge he appeared to have of every subject, the brightness of his memory, and clearness and vivacity of all his mental faculties. Notwithstanding his age (eighty-four), his manners are perfectly easy, and every thing about him seems to diffuse an unrestrained freedom and happiness. He has an incessant vein of humor, accompanied with an uncommon vivacity, which seems as natural and involuntary as his breathing. He urged me to call on him again, but my short tarry would not admit. We took our leave at ten, and I retired to my lodgings.

The gentlemen who lodged in the house were just sitting down to supper; a sumptuous table was spread, and the attendance in the style of noblemen. After supper, Mr. Strong came in and invited me into their Hall, where we sat till twelve. Mentioning my engagement the next morning, Governor Martin, Mr. Mason, Mr. Strong, and several of the other gentlemen wished to be of our party, but would have preferred an earlier hour than six, on account of returning in season to attend the Convention. They wished to know if 5 o'clock would not be agreeable to us. As the matter lay with Dr. Clarkson, I sent a servant to know if it would be agreeable to go out of the city at five in the morning. He returned me an answer that he should on his own part prefer five to six, and would be happy to be favored with the company of the other gentlemen. We then agreed that the first who awaked in the morning should call the servants, the gentlemen having already ordered them to have two coaches harnessed by 5 o'clock, but were doubtful whether they would awake in season.

July 14. As my chamber fronted to the east, and having my mind much engaged, I awoke just as the first dawning appeared, and rung for a servant. When I had given him his orders, I took a walk to the Market, while the carriages were getting ready. It was then so dark that I could not distinctly see a man but a few rods; but, to my astonishment, found more than 100 people in the market, and crowds coming from every street. The market is considered by many as the greatest curiosity in the city. It is a building of near half a mile in length, of one story high, supported by brick pillars at a small distance, the distance between them being open; but a vacancy is left for the cross streets, of equal width with the streets. The floor is raised about two feet above the level of the street. It is perfectly straight, in the center of Market Street, which is 100 feet wide, and is nearly in the center of the city. The part of the market near the river is devoted to fish of various kinds, the other parts to meat. The butter markets are next the houses, in several clusters. Along the sides of the houses in this, and for some distance in the cross streets, are arranged the vegetables and fruits. Every thing is adjusted in perfect order, and as neat and clean as a dining-hall. By the time it was fair daylight, the marketers seemed to be all in and every thing arranged. The crowds of purchasers filled every avenue so that it was almost impossible to pass. The stalls were furnished with excellent meat, and there was every kind of vegetable and fruit which the season afforded. The crowds of people seemed like the collection at the last day, for there was of every rank and condition in life, from the highest to the lowest, male and female, of every age and every color. Several of the market women who sold fruit, I observed, had their infants in their arms and their children about them, and there seemed to be some of every nation under Heaven. The ladies, indeed, are the principal purchasers, but are in a dress not easily to be known by their most intimate acquaintance, and are always attended by a servant with his basket. What would the delicate Boston ladies think, if they were to be abroad at this hour? There is, I presume, as much real delicacy in Philadelphia as Boston. All, by this time, was bustle and hurry. A buzzing murmur of voices resounded through the crowds, but no clamorous noise nor crying of wares of any kind. This scene was so novel that I could not deny myself the pleasure of attending to it for a little time. I made myself very busy in traversing from one end of the market to the other, viewing every thing that was going on, and gazing at the numerous strange faces which appeared wherever I turned my eyes. At length I found myself obliged to give up this pleasure for the enjoyment of another.

When I returned, I found the gentlemen in their carriages and wondering what had become of me. I went on to Dr. Clarkson's, and desired them to follow. His carriage had just come out of the yard. We stepped in, and his son accompanied us on horseback. We crossed the Schuylkill, at what is called the lower ferry, over the floating bridge, to Gray's tavern, and, in about two miles, came to Mr. Bartram's seat. We alighted from our carriages, and found our company were: Mr. Strong, Governor Martin, Mr. Mason and son, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. Hamilton, all members of Convention, Mr. Vaughan, and Dr. Clarkson and son. Mr. Bartram lives in an ancient Fabric, built with stone, and very large, which was the seat of his father. His house is on an eminence fronting to the Schuylkill, and his garden is on the declivity of the hill between his house and the river. We found him, with another man, hoeing in his garden, in a short jacket and trowsers, and without shoes or stockings. He at first stared at us, and seemed to be somewhat embarrassed at seeing so large and gay a company so early in the morning. Dr. Clarkson was the only person he knew, who introduced me to him, and informed him that I wished to converse with him on botanical subjects, and, as I lived in one of the Northern States, would probably inform him of trees and plants which he had not yet in his collection; that the other gentlemen wished for the pleasure of a walk in his garden. I instantly entered on the subject of botany with as much familiarity as possible, and inquired after some rare plants which I had heard that he had. He presently got rid of his embarrassment, and soon became very sociable, which was more than I expected, from the character I had heard of the man. I found him to be a practical botanist, though he seemed to understand little of the theory. We ranged the several alleys, and he gave me the generic and specific names, place of growth, properties, etc., so far as he knew them. This is a very ancient garden, and the collection is large indeed, but is made principally from the Middle and Southern States. It is finely situated, as it partakes of every kind of soil, has a fine stream of water, and an artificial pond, where he has a good collection of aquatic plants. There is no situation in which plants or trees are found but that they may be propagated here in one that is similar. But every thing is very badly arranged, for they are neither placed ornamentally nor botanically, but seem to be jumbled together in heaps. The other gentlemen were very free and sociable with him, particularly Governor Martin, who has a smattering of botany and a fine taste for natural history. There are in this garden some very large trees that are exotic, particularly an English oak, which he assured me was the only one in America. He had the Pawpaw tree, or Custard apple. It is small, though it bears fruit; but the fruit is very small. He has also a large number of aromatics, some of them trees, and some plants. One plant I thought equal to cinnamon. The Franklin tree is very curious. It has been found only on one particular spot in Georgia. His cider-press is singular; the channel for the stone wheel to run in for grinding the apples is cut out of a solid rock; the bottom of the press is a solid rock, and has a square channel to carry off the juice, from which it is received into a stone reservoir or vat. From the house is a walk to the river, between two rows of large, lofty trees, all of different kinds, at the bottom of which is a summer-house on the bank, which here is a ledge of rocks, and so situated as to be convenient for fishing in the river, where a plenty of several kinds of fish may be caught. Mr. Bartram showed us several natural curiosities in the place where he keeps his seeds; they were principally fossils. He appeared fond of exchanging a number of his trees and plants for those which are peculiar to the Northern States. We proposed a correspondence, by which we could more minutely describe the productions peculiar to the Southern and Northern States.

About nine, we took our leave of Mr. Bartram, who appeared to be well pleased with his visitors, and returned to Gray's tavern, where we breakfasted. This tavern is on the south side of the Schuylkill, at the foot of the floating bridge. The land near the river is broken and rocky, though the rocks are mostly large, and the soil excellent. These rocks seem to be a species of freestone, that may be easily wrought into any form. There we were entertained with scenes romantic and delightful beyond the power of description. I know not how nor where to begin or end, nor can I give the faintest idea of this prodigy of art and nature. I will, however, attempt some account of it, to assist my own recollection. Nothing appears from the house, or in passing the street, that would attract the attention of the most inquisitive traveler, unless it be a flight of steps cut out of the solid rock at the east end of the house, by which you ascend to a beautiful grass plat, shaded with a number of large trees, in the rear of the house. This house in front is three stories, in the rear but two, for the back part of the lower story is underground. The house is a large pile of buildings, mostly old, but with some new additions. From this grass plat we went into a piazza one story high, next the street, very pleasant, as it is in full view of the river. Here we breakfasted. After breakfast, Mr. Vaughan invited us to take a view of the Gardens. We returned to the grass plat, from which we ascended several glaces by a serpentine gravel walk, and came to the Greenhouse. It is a very large stone building, three stories in the front and two in the rear. The one-half of the house is divided lengthwise, and the front part is appropriated to a green-house, and has no chamber floors. It is finished in the completest manner for the purpose of arranging trees and plants in the most beautiful order. The windows are enormous. I believe some of them to be twenty feet in length, and proportionably wide. There is a fine gallery next the other part of the house, where company may view the vegetables to the best advantage. At this time, the trees and plants were removed into the open air, and the room whitewashed and as neat as a parlor. The other part of the house, which communicates with the gallery, is divided into Halls and small apartments, for the accommodation of several large companies (who would not wish to have intercourse) at the same time. All these apartments are handsomely furnished. On the top of the house is a spacious walk, where we had a delightful view of the city of Philadelphia. We then took a view of the contents of the greenhouse, beautifully arranged in the open air on the south of the garden. Here were most of the trees and fruits that grow in the hottest climates. Oranges, lemons, etc., in every stage from blossoms to ripe fruit; pine-apples in bloom, and those that were fully ripe. The flowers were numerous and extremely fragrant. We then rambled over the Gardens, which are large—seemed to be in a number of detached areas, all different in size and form. The alleys were none of them straight, nor were there any two alike. At every end, side, and corner, there were *summer-houses*, arbors covered with vines or flowers, or shady bowers encircled with trees and flowering shrubs, each of which was formed in a different taste. In the borders were arranged every kind of flower, one would think, that nature had ever produced, and with the utmost display of fancy, as well as variety. As we were walking on the northern side of the Garden, upon a beautiful glacis, we found ourselves on the borders of a grove of wood and upon the brow of a steep hill. Below us was a deep, shady valley, in the midst of which was a purling stream of water, meandering among the rocks in its way down to the river. At a distance, we could just see three very high arched bridges, one beyond the other. They were built in the Chinese style; the rails on the sides open work of various figures, and beautifully painted. We saw them through the grove, the branches of the trees partly concealing them, which produced the more romantic and delightful effect. As we advanced on the brow of this hill, we observed a small foot-path, which led by several windings into the grove. We followed it; and though we saw that it was the work of art, yet it was a most happy imitation of nature. It conducted us along the declivity of the hill, which on every side was strewed with flowers in the most artless manner, and evidently seemed to be the bounty of nature without the aid of human care. At length we seemed to be lost in the woods, but saw in the distance an antique building, to which our path led us. It is built of large stones, very low and singular in its form, standing directly over the brook in the valley. It instantly struck me with the idea of a hermitage, and I found that so it was called. Every thing was neat and clean about it, but we saw no inhabitant. We ventured, however, to open the door, which was large and heavy and seemed to grate upon its rusty hinges, and echoed a hoarse groan through the grove. We found several apartments, and at one end a fine place for bathing, which seems to be the design of the building. At this hermitage we came into a spacious graveled walk, which directed its course further along the grove, which was tall wood interspersed with close thickets of different growth. As we advanced, we found our gravel walk dividing itself into numerous branches, leading into different parts of the grove. We directed our course nearly north, though some of our company turned into the other walks, but were soon out of sight, and thought proper to return and follow us. We at length came to a considerable eminence, which was adorned with an infinite variety of beds of flowers and artificial groves of flowering shrubs. On the further side of the eminence was a fence, beyond which we perceived an extensive but narrow opening. When we came to the fence, we were delightfully astonished with the view of one of the finest cascades in America, which presented itself directly before us at the further end of the opening. A broad sheet of water comes over a large horizontal rock, and falls about seventy feet perpendicular. It is in a large river, which empties into the Schuylkill just above us. The distance we judged to be about a quarter of a mile, which being seen through the narrow opening in the tall grove, and the fine mist that rose incessantly from the rocks below, had a most delightful effect. Here we gazed with admiration and pleasure for some time, and then took a different route in our return through the grove, and followed a walk that led down toward the Schuylkill. Here the scene was varied. Toward the river the lands were more broken. The walks were conducted in every direction, over little eminences, or along their sides, or through a deep bottom or along a valley, with numerous other walks coming in or going out from the one that we followed. Indeed, the walks were nearly alike, only leading in different directions. This piece of ground in some parts is extremely rude, but those parts are improved to the best advantage; for here we found Grottoes wrought out of the sides of ledges of rocks, the entrance almost obscured by the shrubs and thickets that were placed before them, and the passage into them by a kind of labyrinth. There were several other hermitages, constructed in different forms; but the Grottoes and Hermitages were not yet completed, and some space of time will be necessary to give them that highly romantic air which they are capable of attaining. We crossed the deep valley with the purling stream at the lower end, next the river, where we had a fine view of the lofty Chinese bridges above us. Here is a curious labyrinth with numerous windings begun, and extends along the declivity of the hill toward the gardens, but has hardly yet received its form. At the bottom of the vale, and on the bank of the river, is a huge rock, which I judged to be at least fifteen feet high, and surrounded with tall spruces and cedars. On the top of it I observed a spacious summer-house, as I supposed, for I could see it only through the boughs of the trees. The roof was in the Chinese form. It was surrounded with rails of open work, and a beautiful winding staircase led up to it.

From this valley we ascended a steep precipice on to the grass plat in the rear of the house from which we set out. During the whole of this romantic, rural scene, I fancied myself on enchanted ground, and could hardly help looking out for flying dragons, magic castles, little Fairies, Knight-errants, distressed Ladies, and all the apparatus of eastern fable. I found my mind really fatigued with so long a scene of pleasure. This tract of ground, in some parts, consists of gentle risings and depressions; in others, hills and vales; and in others, rocky, rude, and broken. There is every variety that imagination can conceive, but the whole improved and embellished by art, and yet the art so blended with *nature* as hardly to be distinguished, and seems to be only an handmaid to her operations. On the side of the road opposite to the house is a high hill, which ends abruptly next the river, in a large extended rock, twenty feet high. In this rock a flight of steps is cut, in a winding or kind of lunette form, from the road to the top of the hill, wide enough for two or three persons to walk abreast, with little gutters on each side to conduct the water that runs down. At the summit of the hill you enter a grove of walnuts, oaks, and pines, under which are arranged benches for one hundred people to sit, several long tables, etc. This is the only work of art on this hill. But, under the trees and on the sides of the hill, are many blueberry, whortleberry, and bilberry bushes, raspberries, blackberries, and some other kinds of wild fruit. It affords a fine prospect down the Schuylkill and its opposite shore.

This tavern used to be no more than a common Inn, but Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Sr., when he came from England a few years ago, was charmed with the situation, advised the present owner, who had just purchased it, and was an ambitious young fellow, to undertake these works, assuring him he would soon reimburse his expenses and accumulate a large estate from the company he would draw from Philadelphia. Mr. Vaughan promised to plan the works and furnish him with a gardener from England who would answer his purpose. This gardener is now with him, and he constantly employs about ten laborers under the gardener's direction. The company from Philadelphia, we are told, far exceeded the Inn-keeper's expectations, and he finds himself in a fair way to make a fortune. Mr. Vaughan was so generous as to insist on paying my bill. We returned to Philadelphia between ten and eleven. When we came to the Hospital, Dr. Clarkson left me, and went into the city on his son's horse. Young Mr. Clarkson conducted me into the Hospital. Dr. Rush arrived in a few minutes after. This building is in the form, as you approach it from the city, of an inverted ⊥. It is surrounded with a high wall, and has back of it a very large kitchen-garden. The door in the center opens into a large hall. On each end are apartments for the nurses, cooks, etc. We ascended the stairway out of this hall into another hall in the second story, at one end of which is a large room, which contains a fine medical library, where the Directors were sitting, and a smaller room, where the medicine is placed. On the opposite end are the apartments for the attending Physicians. The third story is formed in the same manner. On one side of this hall is the Museum, where there is a collection of skeletons and anatomies. Here I was shown the skeleton of the woman who was executed in London some years ago for beating a servant girl until she died, an account of which was published in a London magazine, with a plate of the woman and girl. She was a person of distinction, and, from the fine set of teeth in the skeleton, must have been young. In this Museum is the best collection of medical paintings in America. The anatomical paintings are executed in a masterly manner, but they are far exceeded by those of Midwifery, which were done under the inspection of the late ingenious Dr. Fothergill, and presented by him to this Hospital. There are several Casts, done in Plaster of Paris, and as large as the life, which exhibit singular cases in Midwifery. The Museum is also furnished with a number of preparations and preservations relating to Physics and Surgery.

After we had taken a view of the Museum, we returned to the upper Hall, where several Physicians and all the young students in Physic in the City were waiting. Dr. Rush then began his examination of the sick, attended by these gentlemen, which I judged to be between twenty and thirty. We entered the upper chamber of the sick, which is the leg of the T. It is a spacious room, finely ventilated with numerous large windows on both sides. There were two tiers of beds, with their heads toward the walls, and a chair and small table between them. The room was exceedingly clean and nice, the beds and bedding appeared to be of a good quality, and the most profound silence and order were preserved upon the Doctor's entering the room. There were only women, and about forty in number. Dr. Rush makes his visits with a great deal of formality. He is attended by the *attending* Physician, who gives him an account of every thing material since he saw them last, and by the Apothecary of the Hospital, who minutes his Prescriptions. In every case worthy of notice, he addresses the young Physicians, points out its nature, the probable tendency, and the reason for the mode of treatment which he pursues. On this occasion, the Doctor was particularly attentive and complaisant to me, and seemed to consider me as a Physician.

From this room we went to the next below it, which is in every respect similar. It is appropriated to the men. He began, as before, on one side, and went around the room. Every patient is on his own bed or chair. Most of the cases were chronic, many of them swellings and ulcerations, and some of them very singular; but I have not time to describe them. Their dressings were all ready to be taken off and exposed to view the instant the Doctor came to them. These he imputed to their drinking spirituous liquors, and did not fail to remind them of it. He told me the greater proportion of his patients in the city were similar cases, and originated from the same cause. There were between forty and fifty in this room. We next took a view of the *Maniacs*. Their cells are in the lower story, which is partly underground. These cells are about ten feet square, made as strong as a prison. On the back part is a long entry, from which a door opens into each of them; in each door is a hole, large enough to give them food, etc., which is closed with a little door secured with strong bolts. On the opposite side is a window, and large iron grates within to prevent their breaking the glass. They can be darkened at pleasure. Here were both men and women, between twenty and thirty in number. Some of them have beds; most of them clean straw. Some of them were extremely fierce and raving, nearly or quite naked; some singing and dancing; some in despair; some were dumb and would not open their mouths; others incessantly talking. It was curious indeed to see in what different strains their distraction raged. This would have been a melancholy scene indeed, had it not been that there was every possible relief afforded them in the power of man. Every thing about them, notwithstanding the labor and trouble it must have required, was neat and clean. From this distressing view of what human nature is liable to, and the pleasing evidence of what humanity and benevolence can do, we returned to the room where the Directors were. The scene I had now been attending upon was totally the reverse of that at Gray's; but such is the elegance of these buildings, the care and attention to the sick, the spacious and clean apartments, and the perfect order in every thing, that it seemed more like a palace than a hospital, and one would almost be tempted to be sick, if they could be so well provided for.

We then took a view of the *Bettering* house, which is a large and spacious building, with good rooms and well furnished. The Garden is large and laid out in a pretty form; abounds with fruit trees and kitchen vegetables. We returned to the city with Dr. Rush, and Dr. Clarkson and son and myself dined with him.

Soon after dinner, the bell of the Church near Carpenter's Hall rang, which informed us that the Library of the Hall was open, for the purpose of receiving and delivering books. We immediately repaired to it, as it was a favorable opportunity for viewing every part. It is a very large building, erected by a number of wealthy mechanics, principally Carpenters, for the purpose of holding meetings, depositing mechanic models, and a library of books. It is now grown into one of the most important depositories in America. The University literati and men of fortune are become proprietors. As we entered the Hall, we went into a spacious middle entry, and turned to our right into the part of the Hall where the models of mechanical instruments and various kinds of machines are deposited. The room was very high and large, and contained models of almost every kind of farming instruments, such as plows, harrows, hoes, spades, carts, wagons, etc., constructed in different forms, some in full size, others in miniature; models of all kinds of mills, machines for cleaning grain, dressing flax, hemp, etc.; models in the several orders of Architecture, and various other mechanical instruments, more than I am able to recollect. It is easy to conceive of the great utility of such a cabinet. Every ingenious man has a kind of bounty offered for the exertion of his inventive faculties, for here he may deposit his invention, which he may be assured will be received with particular attention and respect to him; and he has the prospect, if he is unable himself to carry it into experiment and use, that somebody else will do it, while he secures to himself the honor of the invention, and satisfaction of rendering service, if it succeeds, to his fellow creatures.

We passed from this room through the entry into the one opposite, which is of the same dimensions. This room will be famous as long as it is in existence; for in this room the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America was framed, signed, and declared by Congress. It is now improved as the depository of the Trophies of War which established and crowned that bold and glorious Declaration. These Trophies consist of pieces of Cannon, small-arms, side-arms of officers and men, Colors, standards, tents, military chests, and all the various accouterments of officers and men; and many complete uniforms of different regiments, from field officers down to privates, collected principally from the two captured armies of Burgoyne and Cornwallis. There are also in this collection several trophies captured by partisans of the American Army, in bold and desperate attempts, displayed in honor to those Heroes who obtained them. We then ascended a staircase to the room over the trophies of war, which is the library. This is a large and excellent collection, and is now become the public library of the University and the city. Every modern author of any note, I am told, is to be met with here, and large additions are annually made. The books appeared to be well arranged and in good order. But the number of books, and the arrangement, are not so large nor so ornamental as the library at Cambridge, but approaches nearer to it than any other on the continent. I was pleased with a kind of net-work doors to the book-shelves, which is made of a large wire sufficiently open to read the labels, but no book can be taken out unless the librarian unlocks the door. This is a necessary security from any persons taking books without the knowledge of the librarian. Here were a large number of gentlemen. I was introduced to a number of the members of the Philosophical Society.

From the Library we were conducted into the Cabinet, which is a large room on the opposite side of the entry, and over the room where the Mechanical models are deposited. Here we had the pleasure of viewing a most excellent collection of natural curiosities from all parts of the globe. They are well arranged, and are contained principally on shelves which are inclosed, having glass casements in front, the panes of which are very large. Here is a tooth of the large animals found in the Ohio Country, which weighs five pounds, and a thigh bone, four feet and some inches in length, and very thick in proportion to its length. The articulations have a fine polish, and the body of the bone is smooth. It is of a dark color, as is also the greater part of the tooth, which is one of the grinders. The thigh bone was on a high shelf, where I could not well make the attempt to lift it; but, by the weight of one end, which I raised from the shelf, judged that it would scarcely be in my power to take it up from the ground. There are several botanical volumes in this Museum, lately published. They are folios, and every plant is represented in large copper-plate cuts, colored from nature, very large and finely executed. The author's name I can not recollect. They were presents, and no person is to be permitted to take them out, but may examine them here as much as they please. For this reason they are in the Museum, and not in the Library.

After we had taken a view of this Hall, I took my leave of Dr. Clarkson and Dr. Rush. Young Mr. Clarkson accompanied me to my lodgings, and, in our way, I just called on several gentlemen to whom I had letters, and took my leave. At the Indian Queen I found Mr. Gorham, Governor Martin, Mr. Mason, and Dr. Williamson, of the Convention. They were so complaisant as to express much regret at my leaving the city so soon, and complained that I had spent no more time with them. Mr. Gorham said he could not conceive how I came to be in so great demand in Philadelphia, as I had never been there before, for that there had not been ten minutes in the day but somebody was inquiring for me, or letters or packets were left. This, however, was easily accounted for, from my having a very large number of introductory letters, many of which I had left with a card, without seeing the gentlemen to whom they were addressed, and they were so complaisant as to call at my lodgings. I found that the gentleman who was my companion from Princeton to this city had frequently called, but I was not so happy as to see him, which I very much regretted.

At half after six I left the city on my return. Through misinformation, I returned the same road to Bristol which I traveled when I went to Philadelphia, but afterward found I might have gone through Germantown, Bethlehem, and Easton, which would have been a more direct way to the part of the Jerseys to which I was bound, and would have been a very considerable gratification. My bill at the Indian Queen, 36*s*. 9*d*.

Philadelphia is the capital city in America. It is large, elegant, and populous, situated on the River Delaware, about 150 miles from the sea, with a good harbor, in which there is a great number of large ships, besides numerous smaller vessels of every description. It contains 10,000 houses, and covers twice the quantity of ground to that of Boston. The State House, Hospital, and most of the other public buildings, are magnificent, but it is singular that there are only two steeples in the city, where there are upward of twenty houses for public worship. There is an Academy belonging to the members of the Episcopal Church, and an Infirmary which is said to be of more utility to the city than the Hospital. There is no public building for this institution, as it is of very recent establishment. There are a number of large houses contiguous to each other, occupied as an Infirmary, where the sick, nurses, etc, are well accommodated. Dr. Clarkson showed me the houses, but we did not go into them. He assured me there were more than 400 patients. It is supported by an annual subscription, and attended by all the Physicians in the city. No person subscribes less than one guinea, and is allowed to recommend two persons, of their poor neighbors, who are provided with every thing necessary for a sick person, together with medicine, attendance, etc. A subscriber of two guineas may recommend four, and a great subscription is not limited to any particular number. Particular attention is here paid to persons who have been reduced from affluent circumstances by misfortunes. The situation of the sick in this Infirmary is said to be equal to that of the best private families in the city. Whatever may be said of the private benevolence of the Philadelphians, there is certainly a greater display of public charity here than in any other part of America. The streets in this city are at right angles, the buildings on a straight line. They are well paved, and, at a distance of ten feet from the house, is a row of posts, and in this range of posts are all their pumps. It is well furnished with lamps. The pavements between the posts and houses are laid with free-stone or large tile, and entirely smooth, which makes the walking on them delightful. They are kept perfectly clean, being washed every day, and here all the foot passengers pass. While I was walking with Mr. Strong, I happened to step without the posts, and walked a few steps in the street. He desired me to come within the posts, for he said they would certainly call me a *New England man*, if I walked there. The middle part of the streets are generally very dirty, and the view of these extended streets interrupted frequently by piles of various kinds of lumber. The streets parallel with the Delaware are Water Street, next the river; then Fore Street, First Street, Second Street, and so on to Ninth Street, which is the furtherest yet built upon. The streets that intersect these are Market Street, which is near the center of the city; and each way from it, they are named after some tree, vine, or shrub. I rode to Bristol without making a stage, and arrived about ten. Lodged at Bissennet's. Stage twenty miles.

Sunday, July 15. Set out very early this morning for Trenton, where I proposed to attend public worship. Bill, 4*s*. 10*d*. I crossed the Delaware at the upper ferry, not far above the Forge, Rolling, and Slitting Mills. At these mills I let my horse stand to cool himself about ten minutes, and took a walk into the mills, and viewed these curious works, but, as it was Sunday, did not take any minutes of their construction. I was surprised to see how prodigiously great the force was, which is applied to the rolling and slitting mills by means of vastly large and double water-wheels. The furnaces, or, rather, ovens, for heating the bars of iron before they are rolled or cut, were very large, but conveniently constructed and situated. The machinery is somewhat complicated, but appeared plain and easy. Every thing about these mills was prodigiously massy, but they are worked with few hands.

Breakfasted at the sign of the Sun, Francis Wilt, in Trenton, thirteen miles from Bristol, by way of the upper ferry. As it was now but half after 8, found I could with ease go as far as Pennytown before public worship would begin. I concluded to go on my journey. Bill, 2*s.* 6*d.* Here I left the New York road, in order to take a circuit more northerly into the Jerseys, and to return by the way of Morristown to New York. I much regretted that I could not call again on Dr. Smith and Colonel Morgan, at Princeton, but found that it would be more than ten miles out of my way, and it was necessary I should be in New York as soon as possible. Arrived at Pennytown at ten, which is eight miles from Trenton. Put up at Thos. Bullman's, a tolerable tavern, opposite the Meeting House. Meeting, I was told, would not begin until eleven, the intermission would be but half an hour, aud the afternoon service would be out a little after two. This is a small village, the land very good, and houses appeared well for farmers' houses. Many of the people came a considerable distance to meeting, and almost all those ride in wagons with two horses. The country is level and the roads good; a great number can therefore ride in a wagon. They were the common wagons which they use in their farming business, for they have no carts in this part of the country. They fill up the wagon nearly with chairs two abreast, and set in them men, women, and children. I saw no other carriage at the Meeting House, but a great number of these, and many of the people who came in them were richly dressed. The congregation made a very good appearance for a country place. The Parson is a young man whose name is *Rue*, and he gave us two *rue*ful discourses on the process of the last judgment. It was mere declamation, with great affectation of oratory, and void of sentiment or arrangement. He appeared to be a high-flying, extemporary preacher, for he had no notes, and reminded me of Butler's lines in Hudibras—

> "With pulpit drum, ecclesiastic.
> Beat with his fist instead of a stick."

His colleague, an aged man, whose name was Guild, from Wrentham, in Massachusetts, had been buried the last week, and though I was told that he had been much beloved, and was greatly lamented, yet no note was read nor a word said about him, either in prayer or sermon. Meeting was done in the afternoon a little past two, and, as the weather was rather cool, I ordered my horse up and went on to the Ringo Tavern. Bill, 3*s*. 6*d*., Jersey money.

The road was fine, but the country rather more hilly, though the soil is good. The Ringo is kept by Robertson. In the Jerseys the counties are not divided into towns, nor have any of their towns fixed boundaries. You do not therefore inquire the way to particular towns, but to Taverns, which are known by certain names which they have by some means obtained, for they are rarely known by the name of the man who keeps them. Here I drank tea, 17 miles from Pennytown. Bill, 1*s*. 4*d*. Finding that I had time to go further, and that the evening would be cool and pleasant, concluded to go on to the next stage, the White House Tavern, 17 miles further, where I arrived about 9 o'clock. The country I traveled over is very fine. The farmers appear to live at ease, and to abound in the necessaries of life. In my way I crossed several large branches of the Raritan, over which I was obliged to ford, for they have no bridges. The people at the White House were gone to bed, but I soon routed them. Feeling a fine appetite, I thought it not best to go to bed supperless. The landlady and her daughter, and a black servant, got up, and soon provided me a fine supper of veal-cutlet and fried oysters. I have rode to-day 55 miles, and have attended public worship both aforenoon and afternoon—a pretty good day's work for Sunday!

Monday, July 16. I rose pretty early this morning. Bill, 4*s*. 11*d*. This tavern is kept by Stillwell, who perfectly understands the art of making out a tavern bill. I gave my horse last night eight quarts of oats, for which he must have charged me pretty well, for I had nothing but supper and lodging. This is a tolerable house, very neat, my bed and linen excellent. In the night was a fine shower of rain, attended with thunder and lightning; the first rain where I have been, of any consequence, since I left Ipswich. It cleared away this morning, and the traveling cool and most delightful. Made my first stage at the second Cross-road Tavern, Malick's, 7 miles. Here I breakfasted. Indifferent house. Bill, 1*s*. 9*d*. From this tavern I went on to Veal Town, 7 miles. This is a small village. The houses are very neat, but not large. People mostly farmers. The land very good, but the people take no pains to manure their land. Their only object is to raise wheat, and keep a large number of fat horses. They are very inattentive to neat-cattle and the growing of hay, although the land appears well suited to grass of various kinds. They begin, however, to sow some quantity of herd's-grass seed, which they call Timothy.

I now took the road to Morristown, and dined at Freeman's, who is a New England man, near the Court-house. This is eight miles from Veal Town. Freeman and his wife seem to be what we call in our country very great Gentlefolks. He keeps a good house, and gave me a fine dinner of ham, roasted veal, and green peas. Morristown is a considerable village, situated on high land, and affords an extensive prospect. In the center of the town is a pretty large green, but the buildings in general are indifferent; nor is there much of the appearance of wealth. The Meeting House is a small, old, shattered fabric, and the Court-house not much better. The land on the eastern part of the town seems to be very indifferent. In this part of the country are many fine orchards and fruit trees of all kinds, particularly Peaches and Apricots. Bill, 2*s*. 6*d*.

About two miles out of this town, N. E., I made a visit to an Uncle, Uriah Cutler, the only brother of my Father. I had never seen him, nor had he seen my Father for nearly fifty years. The old gentleman was overjoyed, when I told him who I was, and bid me a most hearty welcome. I was much pleased with his situation and circumstances. He has a very pretty farm and decent house. His land is excellent; large orchards of apple trees, peach trees, and every kind of fruit which is propagated in this part of the country. He lives as well as a farmer can wish, and with very little labor. Here I found a large pair of oxen, which he assured me were the only pair in the town. He has also a very pretty dairy of cows, having retained the ideas of propagating neat cattle, which he brought from New England; but he had partly gone into the style of the Jersey farmers, for he has five fine horses. Although some of his neighbors seemed, he said, to be convinced of the utility of neat cattle, yet he could not in any considerable degree prevail on them to leave their old habits. He thought, however, that the Jersey people raise more neat cattle than they used to do. My Uncle is the youngest of the family, and is sixty-four years of age, but is uncommonly sprightly and active for that period of life. Like my Father, he has but one son, whose name is Jesse, which has been much of a family name in the lateral branches. He lives in one part of the house, and has married a wife, who bids fair to be a fruitful vine, for she has had three children in four years. This son is the only surviving child of eight. He has had three other sons, Abiathar, David, and Jonathan. One of them has left a widow and two children. My uncle lives with a second wife, to whom he has been married fifteen years, but has had no children by her. He seems to be very happy in the connection his son has formed, which he often mentioned with particular satisfaction. His son's wife appeared to be a very agreeable woman, and was descended from a good family. We spent the afternoon in viewing his farm, barns, orchards, etc. I was particularly pleased to find that as a farmer he was very neat, his lands in fine order, well fenced, and his lots judiciously disposed. His crops of wheat had been unusually large, and he was now sowing his buckwheat, which he said was a profitable grain, and insisted on my taking some seed to make the experiment in Massachusetts. He makes a barrel of brandy every year from the distillation of peaches, but never uses it until it is two years old. I thought it equal to any brandy I ever tasted. As I was determined to go on my journey the next morning, which my uncle at first absolutely forbid, he insisted that we should make a long evening, and we did not go to bed till after one.

Tuesday, July 17. This morning, when I proposed setting out, found my Uncle's passions much agitated, and it was with pain that I assured him I must go. After breakfast, I took my leave of the family, with the promise if ever I came into that part of the country again to call, and, if possible, spend more time. My Uncle is situated on high land; his farm is on the southern declivity of a long hill, with an extensive prospect south; but I had not traveled many miles before the land became broken, hilly, and some of it very poor. Soon after, I came to Newark Mountains, which are in three ranges, very high and steep, with deep valleys between them. From these mountains, there is a very extensive prospect in every direction. The road passes them nearly at right angles. After I had passed the first, stopped at a miserable hut of a tavern, and oated my horse, ten miles from my Uncle's; bill, 8*d.*

The last range is the highest, where I had a fine view of Staten Island, the harbor and city of New York, etc. The descent to Newark plains is steep and bad. Made my next stage near the foot of the Mountain, at Mountain Meeting House tavern, so called, nine miles from my last stage. Here I dined. The house is kept by Munn; very indifferent house. But here is a pretty village, a pretty Meeting House, and some well-built dwelling-houses. There is here an Academy for the instruction of Youth, which is an elegant brick building. Bill, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Three miles from this place is Newark town; a fine road and good land, where I came into the New York road. The weather to-day was very cool, no dust, and the riding fine. Passed over the long marsh and ferries the same way I went on to Philadelphia. Ferriage at second river, 1*s.* 2*d.*; at Hackensack, 1*s.* 6*d.*

When I came to Bergentown, I was determined to make Mons. Mechard* a visit, to whom I had letters. He is the French Botanist sent to America for the purpose of establishing a botanical garden, where he collects American trees and plants of every species, and gives in exchange foreign trees and plants, which are sent to him from France at the expense of the King. I was told he had established his garden a few miles from Bergentown, and up the Hudson River; but when I inquired here, the Dutch people either did not or would not know any thing about such a man or his gardens. Vexed with their not understanding me, or my not being able to understand them, for it appeared to me they did not wish to give me any information, I rode on through the town the way which I supposed would lead to his garden. At length, I obtained information that he lived five miles on the way I was going; but I found it nearer ten, and the road most wretched, through a lonely, hilly woods. As I came out of the woods, found a number of houses in a low, sandy piece of ground, surrounded with swamps. The first I came to was the Three Pigeons tavern, the place I was directed to inquire for. This tavern is kept by a Dutch woman, and is as remarkable for its neatness as any house I ever set my foot in. Here I left my horse, and went on about half a mile to Mons. Mechard's. Unfortunately, he was gone to the Carolinas. There were several gardeners, but they appeared to understand little of Botany. They, however, showed me the Gardens, and were very complaisant. There were a considerable collection of exotic shrubs and plants, set in a kind of beds for transplanting. The American plants they had received were mostly sent to France. There was no order nor beauty in the gardens, the soil remarkably sandy and poor, the situation wretched, and the way to it as bad as can well be conceived. Of all places in America, this would have been the very last I should have

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*André Michaux, botanist, was born at Sarton, near Versailles, 1746; died at Madagascar, 1802. He was sent to America, 1785, to collect and send trees and shrubs for the establishment at Rambouillet. He made botanical excursions in various parts of the country, and established gardens at Bergen, New Jersey, and Charleston, South Carolina. He returned to Europe in 1796.—*See Drake's Dict. Am. Biography.*

thought of for such a purpose. What could induce Mechard to fix down in this awful, gloomy, lonely, miserable spot, is beyond my power to conceive. I was never more disappointed, and regretted the pains I had taken to see the ill taste and judgment of this Botanical Frenchman. Bill at the Three Pigeons, 2*s*. I returned to Bergentown, and arrived at Paulushook ferry a little before sunset. Ferriage, 3*s*. 6*d*., York currency. Put my horse at Barnes', and lodged again at Mr. Henderson's, who received me with the greatest cordiality.

Wednesday, *July* 18. Paid my respects this morning to the President of Congress, General St. Clair;* called on a number of my friends; attended at the City Hall on Members of Congress and their committee. We renewed our negotiations.

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*Arthur St. Clair was born in Scotland, in 1734. He entered the British Army as Ensign in the Sixtieth Foot in 1757, and came with his regiment to America in 1758. For good conduct at Louisburg and Quebec, he was promoted to Lieutenant. He married Miss Bayard, of Boston (a niece of Governor James Bowdoin), about 1760. He resigned his commission in the army in 1762, and two years later settled in the Ligonier Valley, Penn., where he became Judge of the Common Pleas, Colonel of Militia, Member of the Governor's Council, Surveyor of the District of Cumberland, and held other civil offices of more or less importance. In the war of the Revolution, he served with marked distinction, attaining the rank of Major-General. In 1785, he was elected to the Congress of the United States, and in 1787 was chosen its President. He was appointed Governor of the North-west Territory early in 1788, and held the office until removed for political reasons by President Jefferson, in November, 1802. He was appointed General-in-Chief of the Army, March, 1791, and in person commanded the troops in an expedition against the Indians in the fall of that year. His army was defeated and routed by the Indians on November 4, 1791, but St. Clair was exonerated from blame, after a searching investigation by a committee appointed by Congress. He resigned his commission in the army in March, 1792, and was succeeded by General Anthony Wayne. After being removed from the office of Governor, General St. Clair spent the remainder of his days at his old home in Pennsylvania. The shameful conduct of the United States Government in refusing to reimburse him for moneys expended in organizing and equipping troops in its service, reduced him to poverty. He died in 1818. The "St. Clair Papers," compiled and annotated with great care by William Henry Smith, were published by Robert Clarke & Co. in 1881. They are indispensable to a thorough understanding of the early history of the Northwest Territory.

Dined with Captain Hammond, in company with a young Irish nobleman and Mr. Hillegas, treasurer of the United States, and other company. Drank tea and spent the evening at Sir John Temple's.

This day is Commencement at Cambridge, which Major Sargent, General Webb, and a few others called to mind, and we celebrated it at 11 o'clock, at General Webb's, with a bottle or two of wine, porter, and some good old Cheshire cheese. We conclude they must have had a fine Commencement, if the atmosphere at Cambridge has been as fine and cool as ours in New York.

Thursday, July 19. Called on members of Congress very early this morning. Was furnished with the Ordinance establishing a Government in the Western federal Territory. It is in a degree new modeled. The amendments I proposed have all been made except one, and that is better qualified. It was, that we should not be subject to Continental taxation until we were entitled to a full representation in Congress. This could not be fully obtained, for it was considered in Congress as offering a premium to emigrants. They have granted us representation, with right of debating, but not of voting, upon our being first subject to taxation.

As there are a number in Congress decidedly opposed to my terms of negotiation, and some to any contract, I wish now to ascertain the number for and against, and who they are, and must then, if possible, bring the opponents over. This I have mentioned to Colonel Duer, who has promised to assist me. Grayson,* R. H. Lee,† and Carrington are certainly my warm advocates. Holton, I think, may be trusted. Dane must be carefully watched, notwithstanding his professions. Clarke, Bingham, Yates, Kearney, and Few are troublesome fellows. They must be attacked by my friends at their lodgings. If they can be brought over, I shall succeed; if not, my business is at an end.

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* William Grayson, a native of Virginia, and a member of the Continental Congress. In 1788, was a member of the Convention of Virginia which assembled to consider the Constitution of the United States, and made himself conspicuous, both by his talents and his union with Henry, in opposing the adoption of the Constitution. From 1789-90, he was Senator of the United States, and died at Dumfries, on his way to the seat of government, March 12, 1790.—*Dict. of Congress* (*Lanman*).

† Richard Henry Lee. Born in Stratford, Westmoreland Co., Va., January 20, 1732; educated at Wakefield, Yorkshire, England. He had a seat in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1757. He had the honor of originating the first resistance of the British oppression in

Attended the Committee this morning. They are determined to make a report to-day, and try the spirit of Congress. Dined with General Knox. About forty gentlemen, officers of the late Continental Army, and among them, the Baron Steuben. General Knox gave us an entertainment in the style of a prince. . I had the honor of being seated next to the Baron, who is a hearty, sociable old fellow. He was dressed in his military uniform, and with the insignia of nobility, the Star and Garter. Every gentleman at table was of the Cincinnati except myself, and wore the proper badges. Spent the evening at Dr. Holton's with Colonel Duer, and several members of Congress, who informed me an Ordinance was passed in consequence of my petition, but, by their account of it, it will answer no purpose.

Friday, July 20. This morning the Secretary of Congress furnished me with the Ordinance of yesterday, which states the conditions of a contract, but on terms to which I shall by no means accede. Informed the Committee of Congress that I could not contract on the terms proposed; should prefer purchasing lands of some of the States, who would give incomparably better terms, and therefore proposed to leave the City immediately. They appeared to be very sorry no better terms were offered, and insisted on my not thinking of leaving Congress until another attempt was made. I told them I saw no prospect of a contract, and wished to spend no more time

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the time of the Stamp Act, 1765. He was a member of the first Congress in 1774, and in October prepared the draft of the memorial to the people of British America. In accordance with instructions from the Virginia Convention, he first proposed in Congress a declaration of independence, June 7, 1776. He withdrew from Congress after the adoption of the Articles of Confederation; re-elected, 1787; chosen President of that body, serving till 1787. Senator from 1789-92. Died at Chantilly, Va., June 9, 1794.

and money on a business so unpromising. They assured me I had many friends in Congress who would make every exertion in my favor; that it was an object of great magnitude, and [I] must not expect to accomplish it in less than two or three months. If I desired it, they would take the matter up that day on different ground, and did not doubt they should still obtain terms agreeably to my wishes. Colonel Duer came to me with proposals from a number of the principal characters in the city, to extend our contract, and take in another Company, but that it should be kept a profound secret. He explained the plan they had concerted, and offered me generous conditions, if I would accomplish the business for them. The plan struck me agreeably. Sargent insisted on my undertaking, and both urged me not to think of giving the matter up so soon. I was convinced it was best for me to hold up the idea of giving up a contract with Congress, and making a contract with some of the States, which I did in the strongest terms, and represented to the Committee, and to Duer and Sargent, the difficulties I saw in the way, and the improbability of closing a bargain when we were so far apart; and told them I conceived it not worth while to say any thing further to Congress on the subject. This appeared to have the effect I wished. The Committee were mortified, and did not seem to know what to say, but still urged another attempt. I left them in this state, but afterward explained my views to Duer and Sargent, who fully approved my plan. Promised Duer to consider his proposals.

We had agreed last evening to make a party to Brookline, on Long Island, which is a small village opposite New York, and divided only by a ferry across East River. Duer, Webb, Hammond, Sargent, and others were of the party. When we landed, we ordered a dinner of fried oysters at the Stone House Tavern. We took a walk on the high lands, and viewed several of the old forts erected by the British at the expense of immense labor. Here we had a fine prospect of New York, the shipping in the harbor, and of Staten Island. We dined at four. Our dinner was elegant. Oysters were cooked in every possible form, but the fried were most delicious. I spent the evening (closeted) with Colonel Duer, and agreed to purchase more land, if terms can be obtained, for another Company, which will probably forward the negotiations. Bill, 4*s*. 6*d*.

Saturday, July 21. Several members of Congress called on me early this morning. They discovered much anxiety about a contract, and assured me that Congress, on finding I was determined not to accept their terms, and had proposed leaving the City, had discovered a much more favorable disposition, and believed if I renewed my request I might obtain conditions as reasonable as I desired. I was very indifferent, and talked much of the advantages of a contract with some of the States. This I found had the desired effect. At length told them if Congress would accede to the terms I had proposed, I would extend the purchase to the tenth township from the Ohio, and to the Scioto inclusively, by which Congress would pay near four millions of the national debt; that our intention was an actual, a large, and immediate settlement of the most robust and industrious people in America; and that it would be made systematically, which must instantly enhance the value of federal lands, and prove an important acquisition to Congress. On those terms I would renew the negotiations, if Congress was disposed to take the matter up again.

Dined with General Webb, Major Sargent, and Major Giles, at the Mess house in Broadway, opposite the Play House, at the invitation of Major Giles. A very fine dinner.

Spent the evening with Mr. Dane and Mr. Milliken. They informed me that Congress had taken up my business again.

Sunday, July 22. Attended public worship in the morning at the Old Brick, in Wall Street. Dr. Rogers preached. He makes no use of notes, but he arranged his subject very well; gave us a very pretty sermon on the first part of Our Lord's prayer. His address is easy, soft, and engaging—no display of oratory, commonly so called. His style was pure, sentimental, and nervous, but plain and familiar. He made me often think of Dr. Cooper. I dined with Mr. Hazard, Postmaster-General. In the afternoon attended the same meeting. Mr. Wilson preached. He uses no notes, nor are they much used by any clergymen in the city. His subject on Envy.

He was sufficiently methodical, but is not a good preacher, nor was there any thing extraordinary in his sermon. It was rather a harangue; but he was very catholic in his sentiments.

In the evening attended a lecture at the Old Dutch Church. The sermon was delivered in Dutch, with a great deal of vehemence and pathos, but whether it was good or bad I know not.

Monday, July 23. My friends had made every exertion in private conversation to bring over my opposers in Congress. In order to get at some of them, so as to work powerfully on their minds, were obliged to engage three or four persons before we could get at them. In some instances we engaged one person, who engaged a second, and he a third, and so on to a fourth, before we could effect our purpose. In these maneuvers I am much beholden to the assistance of Colonel Duer and Major Sargent.

The matter was taken up this morning in Congress, and warmly debated until 3 o'clock, when another ordinance was obtained. This was not to the minds of my friends, who were now considerably increased in Congress, but they conceived it better than the former; and they had obtained an additional clause empowering the Board of Treasury to take Order upon this Ordinance, and complete a contract on the general principles contained in it, which still left room for negotiation.

Dined with Mr. Henderson,* for the first time since I have been in the city, which he insisted upon, although I had several other invitations. A fine shower in the afternoon. Spent the evening with Colonel Grayson, and members of Congress from the southward who were in favor of a contract. Having found it impossible to support General Parsons as a candidate for Governor after the interest that General St. Clair had secured, and suspecting this might be some impediment in the way—for my endeavors to make interest for him were well known—and the arrangement of civil officers being on the carpet, I embraced this opportunity frankly to declare that, for my own part, and ventured to engage for Major Sargent, that if General Parsons could have the appointment of the first Judge, and Sargent Secretary, we should be satisfied, and that I heartily wished his Excellency General St. Clair might be the Governor, and that I would solicit the eastern members to favor such an arrangement. This I found rather pleasing to the southern members, and they were so complaisant as to ask, repeatedly, what office would be agreeable to me in the western country. I assured them I wished for no appointment in the civil line. Colonel Grayson proposed the office of one of the judges, which was seconded by all the gentlemen present. The obtaining an appointment, I observed, had never come into my mind, nor was there any civil office I should, at present, be willing to accept. This declaration seemed to be rather surprising, especially to men who were so much used to solicit or be solicited for appointments of honor or profit; they seemed to be the more urgent on this head. I observed to them, although I wished for nothing for myself, yet I thought the *Ohio Company* entitled to some attention; that one of the judges, besides General Parsons, should be of that body, and that General Putnam was the man best qualified, and would be most agreeable to the Company, and gave them his character. We spent the evening very agreeably until a late hour.

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* Hugh Henderson was a Scotchman, born in Scotland in 1747; came to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1770, and went into business there, his store in 1775 being "opposite to the Printing office." He married Hannah, daughter of Jacob Sheaffe, of Portsmouth, one of whose sisters was the wife of President Willard, of Harvard University. He was a strong Loyalist, and, being cited to appear before the Committee of Safety, was mobbed and maltreated on the way. Soon after, he left with his family for New York, and his name appears in the New Hampshire Act of 1778, of persons who have joined the enemy. He remained in New York during the war as an importer of dry goods, etc., from London, at No. 24 Queen, now Pearl Street, and continued in business there after the peace of 1783. In 1787 he removed to No. 5 Golden Hill (now John Street), and in 1789 to 71 William Street, where he failed the same year. In 1790 he was again in business at 4 William Street, and in 1790 at the corner of William Street and

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Maiden Lane. He joined the St. Andrew's Society in 1784; and died in 1794, leaving seven children—two others died in infancy. Mrs. Henderson returned, after his death, to Portsmouth, N. H., where she married, secondly, William Hart, and died there September 1, 1845, at the great age of 95 years.—*E. F. de Lancey.*

Tuesday, July 24. I received this morning a letter from the Board of Treasury, inclosing the Resolutions of Congress which passed yesterday, and requesting to know whether I was ready to close a contract on those terms. As the contract had now become of much greater magnitude than when I had only the Ohio Company in view, I felt a diffidence in acting alone, and wished Major Sargent to be joined with me, although he had not been formally empowered to act, for the commission from the Directors was solely to me. It would, likewise, take off some part of the responsibility from me, if the contract should not be agreeable. After consulting Duer, I proposed it to Sargent, who readily accepted. We answered the letter from the Board as jointly commissioned in making the contract. We informed the Board that the terms in the Resolve of Congress were such as we could not accede to, without some variations. We therefore begged leave to state to the Board the terms on which we were ready to close the contract, and that those terms must be our *Ultimatum*. This letter we sent to the Board; but the packet having just arrived from England, and another to sail the next morning, it was not in their power to attend any further to our business for the day. Dined with Mr. Hillegas, treasurer of the United States. Spent the evening with Mr. Osgood, President of the Board of Treasury, who appeared to very solicitous to be fully informed of our plan. No gentleman has a higher character for planning and calculating than Mr. Osgood. I was, therefore, much pleased with having an opportunity of fully explaining it to him. But we were unfortunately interrupted with company. We, however, went over the outlines, and he appeared to be well disposed.

Wednesday, July 25. This morning the Board of Treasury sent our letter to the Secretary of Congress, requesting him to lay it before Congress for their approbation or rejection. But the packets from Europe, received yesterday by the British Packet, occupied the attention of Congress for the day.

Mr. Osgood desired me to dine with him, assuring me he had purposely omitted inviting any other company, that we might not be interrupted in going over our plan.

I had been repeatedly assured Mr. Osgood was my friend, and that he had censured Congress for not consenting to the terms I had offered; but such is the intrigue and artifice which is often practiced by men in power, that I felt very suspicious, and was as cautious as possible. Our plan, however, I had not scruple to communicate, and went over it in all its parts. Mr. Osgood made many valuable observations. The extent of his information astonished me. His views of the Continent and of Europe were so enlarged that he appeared to be a perfect master of every subject of this kind. He highly approved our plan, and told me he thought it the best ever formed in America. He dwelt much on the advantages of System in a new Settlement, said System had never before been attempted; that we might depend on accomplishing our purpose in Europe, and that it was a most important part of our plan. If we were able to establish a settlement as we proposed, however small in the beginning, we should then have surmounted our greatest difficulty; that every other object would be within our reach, and, if the matter was pursued with spirit, he believed it would prove one of the greatest undertakings ever yet attempted in America. He thought Congress would do an essential service to the United States if they gave us the land, rather than our plan should be defeated, and promised to make every exertion in his power in our favor. We spent the afternoon and evening alone and very agreeably.

Thursday, July 26. This morning I accompanied General St. Clair and General Knox on a tour of morning visits, and particularly to the Foreign Ministers. This visit had been previously proposed by General Knox, who was so obliging as to introduce me to them. We called first on the Sieur Otto, Charge des Affaires from the French Court, in Queen Street. He received us very politely, and was exceedingly sociable. He speaks good English, and has a truly philosophic mind. Although he is not the Minister plenipotentiary, for there is none at present from France, but he acts as such and lives in the style of a nobleman. His servants and attendants were numerous. We made our next visit to Don Diego de Gardoqui, Plenipotentiary, "Encargado de Negocios," from the Court of Spain. He seemed to be more on the reserve than Mons. Otto, but was very complaisant. General Knox is his oracle and

Cal. of Bury,

confidant. To me he appeared to be a genuine Spaniard. He lives in an elegant style, and has taken a large house in Hanover Square. After taking our leave of Mons'r Gardoqui, we call on Heer de Heer Van Berckle, in Wall Street, near the City Hall. Mons'r Van Berckle is Minister Plenipotentiary from their Great and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands. He is a jovial, frank, open Dutchman; speaks bad English, but very talkative. He is fond of conversing about the western country, and seems to interest himself much in the settlement of the western lands. This was our longest visit, and being now eleven, General St. Clair was obliged to attend Congress. After we came into the street, General St. Clair assured me he would make every possible exertion to prevail with Congress to accept the terms contained in our letter. He appeared much interested and very friendly, but said we must expect opposition. I was now fully convinced that it was good policy to give up Parsons, and openly to appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed Governor. Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the eastern members in favor of his appointment.

I immediately went to Sargent and Duer. We now entered into the true spirit of negotiations with great bodies; every machine in the city that it was possible to set to work we now put in motion. Few,* Bingham,† and Kearney are our principal opposers. Of Few and Bingham there is hope, but to bring over that stubborn mule of a Kearney I think is beyond

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*Colonel William Few, a patriot of the Revolution, who distinguished himself in several battles with the British and Indians, was born in Maryland, in 1748, but became a citizen of Georgia; was a delegate in Congress from 1780 to the peace, and again elected in 1786. In his latter years he lived in the city of New York, and died at Fishkill, 1828, aged 81.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

†William Bingham, born in Philadelphia, 1751, died in Bath, England, 1804. During the Revolution he was American agent at Martinique. He was a delegate to Congress, 1787, and United States Senator, 1795 to 1801. His wife, formerly Miss Anna Welling, of Philadelphia, was celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments.—*See Drake's Dictionary of American Biography.*

our power. The Board of Treasury, I think, will do us much service, if Dr. Lee is not against us. Though Duer assures me I have got the length of his foot, and that he calls me an open, frank, honest New England man, which he considers as an uncommon animal, yet from his natural jealous, cautious make, I feel suspicious of him, especially as Mr. Osgood tells me he has made every attempt to learn his sentiments, but is not able to do it. His brother, Richard Henry Lee, is certainly our fast friend, and we have hopes that he will engage him in our interest.

Dined with Sir John Temple. Several gentlemen in company. Immediately after dining took my leave and called on Dr. Holton. He told me that Congress had been warmly engaged on our business the whole day; that the opposition was lessened, but our friends did not think it prudent to come to a vote, lest there should not be a majority in favor. I felt much discouraged, and told the Doctor I thought it in vain to wait longer, and should certainly leave the city the next day. He cried out on my impatience, said if I obtained my purpose in a month from that time I should be far more expeditious than was common in getting much smaller matters through Congress; that it was of great magnitude, for it far exceeded any private contract ever made before in the United States; that if I should fail now, I ought still to pursue the matter, for I should most certainly finally obtain the object I wished. To comfort me he assured me that it was impossible for him to conceive by what kind of address I had so soon and so warmly engaged the attention of Congress, for since he had been a member of that body he assured me on his honor he never knew so much attention paid to any one person who made application to them on any kind of business, nor did he ever know them more pressing to bring it to a close. He could not have supposed that any three men from New England, even of the first character, could have accomplished so much in so short a time. This, I believe, was mere flattery. though it was delivered with a very serious air, but it gave me some consolation. I now learned very nearly who were for and who were against the terms. Bingham is come over, but Few and Kearney are stubborn.

Unfortunately there are only eight states represented, and unless seven of them are in favor no ordinance can pass. Every moment of this evening until two o'clock was busily employed. A warm seige was laid on Few and Kearney from different quarters, and if the point is not effectually carried the attack is to be renewed in the morning. Duer, Sargent, and myself have also agreed, if we fail, that Sargent shall go on to Maryland, which is not at present represented, and prevail on the members to come on, and to interest them, if possible, in our plan. I am to go on to Connecticut and Rhode Island, to solicit the members from these states to go on to New York, and to lay an anchor to the windward with them. As soon as those states are represented Sargent is to renew the application, and I have promised Duer, if it be found necessary, I will then come on to New York again.

Friday, July 27. I rose very early this morning, and, after adjusting my baggage for my return, for I was determed to leave New York this day, I set out on a general morning visit, and paid my respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of my intention to leave the city that day. My expectations of obtaining a contract, I told them, were nearly at an end.* I should, however, wait the decision of Congress, and if the terms we had stated, and which I conceived to be exceedingly advantageous to Congress, considering the circumstances of that country, were not acceded to, we

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* When Dr. Cutler told the Committee that he could not accede to their terms, and proposed to leave the city immediately, as he could make better terms with the states, it was making a legitimate use of an alternative that was clearly within his reach. His own state would sell Maine lands at fifty cents per acre, and receive government securities in payment, and for a large amount probably at a less rate. He knew that a strong current was setting toward Maine from among his own neighbors and acquaintances. Several of the old officers, such as Knox and Lincoln, went eastward. The strong probability is, that the opportunity of locating Bounty Warrants on U. S. Government lands, and the direction given by Washington to his companions toward the Ohio country, decided the question of location.

It was "pointed out to them by their Commander-in-Chief," as the Directors of the Ohio Company subsequently placed on their records. There was, therefore, no attempt to overreach or dissemble in thus urging an alternative which the Committee well knew was a legitimate must turn our attention to some other part of the country. New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts would sell us lands at half a dollar, and give us exclusive privileges beyond what we had asked of Congress. The speculating plan concerted between the British in Canada and New Yorkers was now well known. The uneasiness of the Kentucky people with respect to the Mississippi was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union, if a war with Spain took place, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable. And most certainly a systematic settlement in that country, conducted by men strongly attached to the federal government, and composed of young, robust, and hardy laborers, who had no idea of any other than the federal government, I conceived to be objects worthy of some attention. Besides, if Congress rejected the terms now offered, there could be no prospect of any application from any other quarter. If a fair and honorable purchase could not be obtained, I presumed contracts with the natives, similar to that made with the Six Nations, must be the consequence, especially as it might be much more easily carried into effect. These and such like were the arguments I urged. They seemed to be fully acceded to, but whether they will avail is very uncertain. Mr. R. H. Lee assured me he was prepared for one hour's speech, and he hoped for success. All urged me not to leave the city so soon; but I assumed the air of perfect indifference, and persisted in my determination, which had apparently the effect I wished. Passing the City Hall as the members were going in to Congress, Colonel Carrington told me he believed Few was secured, that little Kearney was left alone, and that he determined to make one trial of what he could do in Congress. Called at Sir John Temple's for letters to Boston; bid my friends good-by; and,

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one. His own preference was decided enough, and in giving notice of his intention to leave the city, he hoped, and may have expected, that it would result favorably to his own wishes and those of his associates.

The family tradition, as preserved in writing by Ephraim Cutler, is, that Western New York would have been the location selected by Dr. Cutler and his associates, in case of failure to secure from Congress lands in the Ohio Valley.

as it was my last day, Mr. Henderson insisted on my dining with him and a number of his friends whom he had invited.

At half-past three, I was informed that an Ordinance had passed Congress on the terms stated in our letter, without the least variation, and that the Board of Treasury was directed to take Order and close the contract. This was very agreeable but unexpected intelligence. Sargent and I went immediately to the Board, who had received the Ordinance, but were then rising. They urged me to tarry the next day, and they would put by all other business to complete the contract; but I found it inconvenient, and, after making a general verbal adjustment, left it with Sargent to finish what remained to be done at present. Dr. Lee congratulated me, and declared he would do all in his power to adjust the terms of the contract, so far as was left to them, as much in our favor as possible. I proposed three months for collecting the first half-million dollars and for executing the instruments of Contract, which was acceded to. By this Ordinance, we obtained the grant of near 5,000,000 of acres of land, amounting to three millions and a half of dollars, one million and a half of acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters in America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company.

On my return through Broadway, I received the congratulations of a number of my friends in Congress, and others, whom I happened to meet with. At half after six, took my leave of Mr. Henderson and family, where I had been most kindly and generously entertained, and left the city by way of the Bowery. My bill at Barnes', 23*s.* 6*d.*

Although I felt great anxiety to return, yet I left the city of New York with reluctance. The attention and generous treatment I had met with here was totally different from what I had ever before met with. My business and introductory letters were the occasion of my forming an extensive acquaintance, and with those of the first character. I passed away my time, notwithstanding all my labor and fatigue, in a constant round of pleasure. Some of my acquaintances here I shall ever consider among the first with whom I have had the happiness to form a connection, particularly Colonel Duer, who took his leave in the most affectionate manner. He is a gentleman of the most sprightly abilities, and has a soul filled with the warmest benevolence and generosity. He is made both for business and the enjoyment of life, his attachments strong and sincere, and diffuses happiness among his friends, while he enjoys a full share of it himself. Mr. Hazard is another gentleman with whom I should wish to spend the remaining part of my life.

The city of New York approaches to an oblong square form, though not regular. It is most beautifully situated on elevated ground gradually descending toward East River. It contains between four and five thousand houses, and thirty and forty thousand inhabitants. It is under the government of a mayor, recorder, seven aldermen, and seven assistants or common councilmen. By them the markets, fairs, assize of bread and wine, etc., licensing retailers, taverns, carters, truckmen, porters, repairing streets, etc., are regulated, and the city derives the greatest advantages for regulating her internal police by being incorporated. The streets in the center of the city are nearly at right angles, but the several streets are very different in their width. Wall Street is spacious and the buildings magnificent. Broad Street, Nassau Street, and Williams Street, as are Great and Little King Streets, are all very pretty streets; but Queen Street exceeds any street in the city. It is wide and more than one mile and a half in length. The buildings are grand, from four to six stories high, and the sides of the street within the posts are laid principally with free-stone, sufficiently wide for three persons to walk abreast. The buildings in Hanover Square, and part of Dock Street, exceed any part of the city for grandeur. The streets are kept in fine order, pavements entire and even, no teams drawn with more than one horse, or with iron-shod wheels, are allowed to pass the streets. The pavements gradually descend from the houses to the center of the streets, where the gutters are for carrying off the water. Broadway is a grand street, being eighty feet wide, and situated on high ground on the western side of the city, toward North River; but the buildings, which have been newly erected, and are only temporary accommodations, are not elegant. There are, however, a number of most noble buildings erected in this street, and many more begun. In time it will be the finest in the city. In this street the gentry ride every morning and afternoon in their carriages, which are generally very grand, and are principally Coaches, Chariots, and Phaetons. The common people ride in open chairs. I did not see more than two or three chaises in the city. Broadway leads from the fort, or White Hall Square, to the common, and so out of the city through the Bowery. The common is considerably large, in a triangular form, and surrounded with buildings. On the northern side side of the Square are three very elegant large public buildings, which make a fine appearance at a distance, all built of free-stone, with a handsome fence inclosing a court-yard in front. But, when you come near them, you can not fail of being extremely disgusted at the wretched taste and impropriety of erecting buildings for the purposes to which these are appropriated in the most airy and pleasant part of the city, and by which a vast concourse of people are constantly passing. The first is the Prison, four stories high, and a beautiful cupola on top. Near by it is what I at first took to be a beautiful summer-house, raised from the ground. It is in a square form, the sides ornamented with checker-worked banisters, and the roof in the Chinese taste; the whole very handsomely painted. I was surprised to see so elegant a summer-house so near this building, which I found, by the iron-grates to be a prison, but, on inspection, found it was a Gallows, accommodated for turning off *six* criminals at a time. Certainly criminals here must make their exit into the other world in high taste. The next Public Building is the Alms-house, and the third, which is very long and high, is Bridewell. The buildings themselves would be very ornamental to this common, were it not for their odious contents. Such buildings, I think, ought ever to be placed in the most recluse part of the city, where people are not under the necessity of having their feelings constantly shocked, until the noble principle of humanity is become so hardened as not to be moved with those pitiable objects. There are many spacious public buildings in this city which I have not described. The houses for public worship are very numerous, many of them spacious and adorned with towering steeples. St. Paul's Church, in Broadway, is the largest; it is truly a grand building. The floor of this, and, I think, all the other churches, is laid with polished free-stone. The carvings and paintings are elegant. At the end of the St. Paul's, is a piazza, raised several steps from the ground, making a spacious walk, the roof of which is supported by six pillars of free-stone, sixty feet high and six feet in diameter.

At the southern end of the city on the point of the Island, where North and East Rivers meet, is an old fort, now much out of repair, and which is soon to be removed, for the purpose of erecting houses in a part of the city so convenient for doing business. This fort is built on a prodigious mound of earth raised for that purpose, which makes the walls next the harbor near forty feet high, and seems to be well situated for commanding the entrance into both rivers; but forts where there is a passage by them are now found to be of very little use. Around this fort is the Mall, where a vast concourse of gentlemen and ladies are constantly walking a little before sunset and in the evening. On the part of the Mall next the water, which is of considerable extent, is a broad and most beautiful glacis (built up with free-stone from the water), on which they walk. This is a cool and most delightful walk in an evening, having the sea open as far as Staten Island and Redhook, but in the day-time it greatly wants the shade of trees. On the northern part of the city is a large hospital, built with free-stone, with two extended wings. It is in a good situation, but is very little attended to, having only a few seamen in it. I passed by it several times, but did not go into it. The markets in this city are kept in the finest order, and abound with the best of meat, a variety of fish, every kind of vegetable and fruit. The fish are sold alive; if they are dead they abate one penny on the pound. The principal is Fly market, in Water street; the next is Oswago market, in Broadway. Bakers' market and Merchants' Hall market are also large.

There is perhaps no city or town of any considerable magnitude where such perfect order is preserved as in New York. The people apply themselves to business, and much is done in this city. The several classes of people mix very little. Their manners are agreeable, and complaisant to strangers. Their dress is very neat and clean; the higher ranks dress richly, but not gaudy. This is the center of mercantile trade, and of course money is plenty. The shipping in this harbor is exceedingly numerous, and there is constantly here a French and British packet. There is a play-house, but the actors do not perform in the summer, but there are constant exhibitions from rope-dancers, mountebanks, jugglers, and show-men.

I made my first stage at Kingsbridge. Although my horse had not been harnassed to my knowledge for a fortnight, and I had ordered her eight quarts of oats per day, her spirits flagged more in riding to Kingsbridge than at any other time before in my journey. She has evidently lost flesh in the stable at New York, and by her appearance have no doubt that Barnes is a rascal; has neither given her hay nor oats, as he ought, and probably used her every day. Bill, 1*s*. 4*d*. Went on, although it is now dark, to Guion's, East Chester, where I lodged, twenty miles from New York.

Saturday, July 28. Set out very early this morning. I paid particular attention to my horse last night, in seeing her fed with ten quarts of oats, and well supplied with good hay. Ordered oats to be put in soak last night, with which I ordered her fed this morning. Bill, 4*s*.

Breakfasted at Mrs. Horton's, in Marrinack. She is a sprightly, dressy widow, keeps a fine house, and most certainly suffers for the want of a likely husband. Seven miles from East Chester. Bill, 2*s*. 7*d*. Sloops lay almost alongside the doors of this tavern. My next stage Naps—oated. Bill, 1*s*. Went on to Young's, between Stanford and Norwalk, where I dined. By the most careful attention to my horse, found her spirits recruited. Bill, 2*s*. 7*d*., York currency. Made my next stage at Wentworth's, in Norwalk, and was obliged to get my horse shod before. It now rained exceedingly hard. It was determined to go on to Fairfield. Bill, 10*d*. Horseshoeing, 1*s*. 2*d*. L. money. It continued to rain very hard, and when night came on it was excessive dark. I repented my attempt to get on to Fairfield, but could find no tavern on the road. At length I came to a large river, which convinced me that I must be out of my way. I was uncertain whether the road passed through it (for there was no bridge), and therefore did not dare to attempt to ford it. I found there was somewhat of a road along the bank, and I was determined to stop at the next house I found, let it be whose or what it might. In about a mile I came to a house, and was not a little rejoiced, when I came up, to find it had a sign and a shed. There was no light, but I soon attacked the door with hearty thumps, which seemed to resound through the house. Nobody said any thing, nor made any muster. I paid on the harder, and then began to halloo. At length I heard persons whispering in the house, which convinced me it was not void of inhabitants. I then begged them to permit me come to in, for I had lost my way, and was exceedingly wet and fatigued. A man came to the door, and told me he could not possibly lodge me, for he had only one bed in the house, no hay, nor any grass better than the highway. I related my situation, begged him to let me sleep on the floor, for I could go no further. He said he would consent to my tarrying if I could go no further, but said he had nothing for my horse; there was only himself and his wife in the house; they had no bed of any kind, except a very poor one, on which they lodged; that he did not pretend to keep a tavern, had just come into the house, and the old sign had not been taken down. He said, however, he could put me in the way to Fairfield, only two miles, where I could lodge comfortably. I now began to think my situation abroad was nearly as good as my landlord's in his old house. He conducted me down to the river, where I forded it, and went on to Fairfield. About twelve o'clock arrived at Nichole's, a very good house, and called him out of bed. He was very obliging, took good care of my horse, and furnished me with an excellent bed. I now began to bless my stars that I did not stop at the house, where I must have lodged on the floor.

I rode this day fifty-two miles, and found my horse in much better spirits when I came up to this house than at the stage where I lodged last night.

Sunday, July 29. Rode to Stratford. Ferriage at North Field, 1*s*. Breakfasted at Blackleach's. Sent for my classmate, Walker, and attended meeting with him. Mr. Stibbons, the minister of the parish, preached. Mr. Walker insisted on sending for him that he might invite me to preach; but I assured him I must decline if he did, for I was on a journey which I was obliged to press with all possible expedition, and was too much fatigued to think of preaching.

Dined with Mr. Walker, and set out immediately for Stratford. Bill at Blackleach's, 2*s*. 8*d*. Ferriage at Stratford ferry, 2*s*. Barber, 1*s*. Arrived at Stratford just as the bell began to ring. Put up my horse at Glinney's, next door to the Meeting House. My classmate, Buckingham, saw me as I rode up. He came to me, and told me Mr. Lockwood was just gone into the Meeting House, but he would conduct me to the pulpit, and begged I would preach for him. I excused myself, and insisted on the favor of taking a seat with him. He conducted me into his pew, which was not far from the pulpit, while Mr. Lockwood was reading the Psalm. As soon as he had done (I took care not to look toward him), but perceived a shuffling of his feet, and, casting my eye up, found he was making signs, but I was determined not to understand nor to regard him. He made such a fuss that I expected he would come down to the pew, which he told me afterward he was about to do, but finding I was determined not to regard him, and apprehending I might have no notes in my pocket, he concluded it would be in vain. He did not fail, however, to give me a pretty smart scolding after meeting. This is a very large assembly; there are two tiers of galleries, and the house was very full. The congregation appeared exceedingly well. Mr. Lockwood gave us a very pretty sermon. I am pleased to find that the reading the Scriptures as a part of public worship is universally practiced in this part of the country, which formerly was not the case. The giving a general explanation of the passage read is practiced in Connecticut as well as New York. This struck my mind so agreeably while I was in New York, and particularly Mr. Stibbons' mode of explaining, at Stratford, that I am determined to make the attempt myself when I return. It certainly will be attended with very little difficulty, and will be easy and familiar after a little practice. Besides, it must tend to give both a minister and people a clear understanding, and impress on their minds the general sense of the passages read in public worship. After meeting, Mr. Lockwood insisted that we should take tea with him, but Esquire Buckingham urged exceedingly that we should go to his house—however, he finally consented to go with Lockwood. We spent a couple of hours very agreeably. I then took my leave, though not without being exceedingly importuned to tarry the night. But I assured them the reason of my riding at all on Sunday was the absolute necessity of reaching home that week, which I could not possibly do unless I went as far as New Haven that night.

Rode to New Haven, nine miles; put up at Atwater's tavern, near College, and spent the evening with President Stiles. I was received very cordially, and much urged to take a bed; but as I had engaged one at the tavern, I preferred lodging where my baggage was. The *Tutors* were at the President's, and Mr. Whittlesey, a gentleman of the law, son of the Rev. Mr. Whittlesey, a minister at the Old Brick in this city, and whom I saw well when I went on to New York, but had been, the week past, laid in his grave. Young Mr. Whittlesey was going on to Middletown the next morning, and proposed going in company with me. I supped at Dr. Stiles', and spent the evening very agreeably.

Monday, July 30. Breakfasted at Dr. Stiles', and was not able to take my leave until between nine and ten. I had brought a packet to the Doctor from Dr. Franklin, with which he was exceedingly pleased, particularly with a copy of the same letter Dr. Stiles had sent him inclosed in it. Dr. Franklin had desired him to compare them, and see if there was a letter, or stroke, or point of the pen that did not perfectly correspond, and assured him that he had made out that copy in less than half a minute. Dr. Stiles was exceedingly puzzled; he knew not how to account for it. At length I gave him an explanation of the mystery, which Dr. Franklin had purposely omitted, and described to him the Docter's process for copying letters. My bill at Atwater's, 2*s*. 10*d*.

Mr. Whittlesey called, and waited a long time before I could get away. He was on horseback, but we could converse very well, and I found him an agreeable companion. A sister of his, who was married to a gentleman in Middletown, and a little brother, were gone on in a chaise, which we overtook in North Haven. We made our first stage at Wallingford. Mr. Whittlesey and his sister dined at the Rev. Dr. Dana's, their uncle, where I called for them after dinner. They urged me to go with them; but, being unacquainted with the Doctor, chose to dine at the tavern, Hall's, a very good house. Bill, 2*s*. 10*d*. When Mr. Whittlesey's sister saw me, she immediately claimed an old acquaintance, which I had entirely forgotten. When she came to mention a number of parties in which we were in company, I had some faint recollection. How does time obliterate the remembrance of old acquaintances! She blamed me much for not calling on Miss Arnold, who was then about to sail for England, and assured me she had not forgotten our old acquaintance, and believed she never would. I should have called upon her, if my time in New Haven had permitted. We arrived at Middletown about sunset. Mr. Whittlesey was going on to Tolland the next day, through which town it was necessary for me to pass in my way to Stafford, where my sister lives, and whom I was determined to see in my return. I promised to call for him next morning, and went on to General Parsons'.

When I had informed General Parsons of my negotiations with Congress, I had the pleasure to find it not only met his approbation, but he expressed his astonishment that I had obtained terms so advantageous, which, he said, were far beyond his expectations. He assured me that he preferred the appointment of first Judge to that of Governor, especially if General St. Clair was the Governor. He proposed writing to General St. Clair and his friends in Congress, that they would procure me an appointment on the same bench; but I absolutely declined, assuring him that I had no wish to go into the civil line. Mrs. Parsons was exceedingly complaisant. She said they looked hard for me on Saturday night, and that it was hoped that I should preach for them yesterday, especially as Mr. Huntington was gone to Windham, where his wife had been taken sick while she was on a visit to her friends, and that the people were much disappointed at my not coming. We spent a very long and an agreeable evening, for we did not go to bed until half-after one. I wrote in the evening several letters to New York.

Tuesday, July 31. It was my intention to set out very early this morning, but could not get away until after 9 o'clock. Called on Mr. Whittlesey, who had repeatedly sent to know if I was going on. Made our first stage at Hartford. Called one minute on my classmate Bull. Should have called on Colonel Wyllys. but was certain if I did I should not be able to get away from him. Mr. Strong, the minister of the North Church, hearing I was in town, sent a billet to me and Mr. W., inviting us to dine, with which we complied. Mr. Strong said he had had no personal acquaintance, but he had had a very good hearsay acquaintance, and wanted much to converse on the subject of Meteorological observation, which he had attempted for some years, but was at a loss to know how I had ascertained the quantity of rain and snow. Mr. Strong is one of the first literary characters in Connecticut, and seems to be possessed of a truly philosophic mind. Here I met again with Miss Channing, who was at Dr. Stiles' when I went on to New York. Bill at the sign of the Bull, 1*s.* 4*d.*; horseshoeing, 8*d.*, for I had the same shoe new set by the man who had shod my horse so well when she was lame, as I went on to New York.

As soon as we had got into East Hartford, we left the road I came in from Killingly. I called on Miss Williams, daughter of Professor Williams, at Cambridge, by his particular request, to receive her commands to Cambridge. She is at Dr. Williams', the minister of this town, and a distant relation; but I did not get out of my carriage. Our next stage Buckland; E. Hartford six miles; bill, 4*d.*; miserable house. We oated again at another wretched tavern; eight miles. A little after sunset, arrived at Tolland, eight miles further. Put up at a tavern near the Court-house, where I took my leave of Mr. Whittlesey. This is a pretty good house.

Wednesday, August 1. My bill 3*s*. Set out as soon as it was light in the morning, and arrived at Brother Lee's about nine; road wretched bad. Called on Mr. Foster, the minister of West Parish in Stafford, and brother-in-law to Mr. Brown, of Ipswich Hamlet. Brother Lee lives on a hill, which is very high, and the soil good, but it is abominably rocky. I was obliged to get out of my carriage and lead my horse, at some distance from his house. As I was passing up the hill, I heard a man cry out, in a field of wheat just behind me, "What Irishman can that be!" As I turned about to see who it was that took me for an Irishman, he burst out a-laughing. I did not at first know him; but coming directly to me, found it to be Brother Lee, who knew me before he spoke, but declared when he first saw me, he supposed me to be an Irish peddler. I had not seen him or my sister for fourteen years. When we came to the house, my sister did not know me for some time, but as soon as she recollected me, burst into tears, and could not for a long time compose herself. She has lost her foreteeth, which used to be very fine, by which her countenance is so much altered that I should not have known her, though I was surprised to find, as she is four years older than myself, that she had so young a look, and had lost no more of her appearance in youth. They have only one child living, a daughter, about nineteen years of age, but is married and has two children. Her husband lives near them, their farms joining to each other. I was happy to find them in very agreeable circumstances; but it is an odious part of the Globe to live in, for, though the land is high, yet it is exceedingly broken and hilly in every direction. The growth is chestnut, and the soil produces excellent wheat, of which Brother Lee had an excellent crop. Immediately after dinner, I was obliged to take my leave, which my sister complained of as extremely cruel, as we had not seen each other for so long a time, and probably might never meet again in this world; but I was so circumstanced that it was unavoidable. This is eleven miles from Tolland.

Made my first stage at Gay's, who was a Killingly man, and one of my old acquaintance. Bill, 5*d*. Six miles from my brother's, and the road awful indeed. Five miles farther is the famous Stafford Spring, which was about half a mile out of the road I was traveling, but I was determined to see it. The spring is on the northern side of the sloping hill, of considerable height, and issues from under a large rock at the foot of the hill and near the bank of a considerable river. The diameter of the spring is somewhat larger than a pail, and about two feet deep; a small stream runs from the spring to the river, about three rods, but in its way passes through part of a pretty large house, which has been erected for the accommodation of the people who come here for the benefit of the waters. In the house is a large vat for bathing. I drank freely of the waters, which had to me a disagreeable taste. Having had for two or three days past somewhat of an inflammation in the eye-lashes of one of my eyes, and which had been this day much increased and very troublesome, I thought I would make an experiment of these waters, and washed my eye a number of times while I tarried. The inflammation in a few hours began to abate, and by the next morning was entirely gone. This was an evidence of their being considerably astringent. There were three patients here, two women and a boy. One, a woman, was every summer attacked with an erysipelas, which was universal. By making free use of these waters four years ago she found immediate benefit, and had been free from it the three last summers, but this summer it had returned. She appeared to be in a shocking condition, but said she was growing better every day. The other woman was subject to violent rheumatic pains, and the lad had ulcerated swellings in one of his legs and thighs, in consequence of a broken bone. They had been here only a short time, and could say nothing of the effects of the waters. By analyzing these waters it has been found that they are in some degree chalybeate, but the basis is sulphur. Bill at Spring, 4*d*.

In my way from the Spring passed through the other parish in Stafford, but did not go by way of the Meeting House. Went on to Willington. and lodged, twelve miles from the Spring. Rode thirty-four miles to-day, and some of the way was as bad as can well be conceived. This tavern is kept by Fuller, a rich old farmer, who lives himself on bread and milk, but his house is full of every thing a farm produces. They gave me a good dish of green tea, and loaded the table with toast, apple pies, biscuit, butter, and most excellent old cheese. And the old landlady was very attentive and obliging indeed. Their beds I found, however, were none of the best.

Thursday, August 2. My horse was in the carriage just after day-break. She had fared exceedingly well the last night. Bill, 2*s*. 4*d*. Went on to Ashford, seven miles, where I came into the road, in which I went on to Hartford. In this crooked route I had been almost incessantly crossing and passing from one road to another, but when I came into this road I was doubtful (as the road I was in crossed it at right-angles) whether I should take it or keep on the course I was traveling. And so great was my uncertainty, that when I came up to it I concluded it was not the Hartford road, and proposed to keep on in the road I was traveling, but my horse, the moment I came into the road, took the reins, turned short, and set out in a much quicker pace toward Killingly. I attempted to keep her on the way I was traveling, but she seemed absolutely to refuse traveling that road any further. This was so striking an evidence that she knew the road, that I determined to try whether she was right or not, though I was still very doubtful myself. In about a mile I came in sight of the Meeting House, and then knew I was right. How astonishing the sagacity of horses in matters of this kind! This was the most remarkable I ever knew or heard of, for my horse was never in this part of the country, only as I went on near six weeks ago, and had been traveling near eight hundred miles, and been out of this road for more than thirty in my return. I went on to Judge Randal's, and breakfasted, seven miles further. I had now traveled, since I left Hartford, seventy-six miles, and only seven of it in the road I went on. The good old Judge appeared to be very glad to see me, and was as handy as ever in taking care of my horse. The old lady seemed to be a little more complaisant than when I went on. We had another fine dish of politics. He insisted upon my going on the hill, and taking a view of his farm, which is certainly a grand one indeed. He has four hundred acres of excellent land, and the most of it under improvement. I delivered him a long lecture on husbandry, which seemed to touch him in the right spot, but he said he was too old to attend to it. But he thought he should attend to my advice in keeping more cows, for he said he could summer and winter thirty or forty very well, but he now keeps but eight or nine. Bill, 1*s.* 4*d.* . Arrived at my father's about two o'clock. Visited Mr. Atkins and several of my old friends.

Friday, August 3. Set out very early this morning for Dedham. Ephraim, having business at Gloucester, went with me as far as Captain Olney's. Bill, 8*d.* Took my leave of him, and went on to the Widow Arnold's, in Smithfield. As I had sent Mrs. Arnold a number of seeds and bulbous roots, she expressed great satisfaction at seeing me, and refused pay for my refreshment. Dined at Metcalf's, in Franklin, a miserable tavern; bill, 1*s.* 8*d.* My next stage at Headen's, in Walpole. Arrived at Mr. Chickering's a little before daylight in, where I was so happy as to find Mrs. Cutler and Charles, and to hear that our family was well. Brother Dean and Sister and several of the neighbors spent the evening with us.

Saturday, August 4. It was very late this morning before we were able to set out for home, and the weather exceedingly hot, as it had been several days past. We came on slowly. Was obliged to have my horse shod in Roxbury. We dined at Mr. Williams'. Here I had so many people to see, that we were not able to leave the town until nearly 6 o'clock. We did not arrive home until half-past twelve o'clock at night.

Thus I completed one of the most interesting and agreeable journeys I ever made in my life. It had in every view been prosperous, but in many respects infinitely exceeded my expectations. The large and very respectable acquaintance that I formed on this journey I must consider as a valuable acquisition, and may probably have reason to consider it as one of the most happy events of my life. In this journey, I have rode, according to the account I have entered in this journal, which I believe to be very accurate, 885 miles. Besides these minutes, I examined a very great number of new plants, for I had the whole of my botanical apparatus with me. These I inserted in my botanical journal.

[After his return from New York, Dr. Cutler was much occupied with the affairs of the Ohio Company.]

Aug. 29, *Wed.* Went to Boston, and attended a meeting of the Ohio Company. Made a report of the purchase of the land from Congress, which was approved and confirmed. [The following extract from the records of the Ohio Company gives the proceedings of this meeting in full:]

August 29, 1787.

At a Meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company, held at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, in Boston, the following Report was received from the Rev. Manasseh Cutler:

That, in consequence of the resolves of Congress of the 23d and 27th of July last, he agreed on the conditions of a contract with the Board of Treasury of the United States for a particular tract of land, containing in the whole as much as the Company's funds will pay for, should the subscriptions amount to one million of dollars, agreeably to the Articles of Association, at one dollar per acre, from which price is to be deducted one-third of a dollar for bad lands, defraying the expenses of surveying, etc.

That those lands be bounded on the east by the western boundary of the seventh range of townships; south, by the Ohio; west, by a meridian line drawn through the western Cape of the Great Kanawha River; and extending so far north that a due east and west line from the seventh range of townships to the said meridian line shall include the whole.

This tract to be extended so far northerly as to comprehend within its limits, exclusively of the above purchase, one lot of six hundred and forty acres in each township, for the purposes of religion; an equal quantity for the support of schools; and two townships, of twenty-three thousand and forty acres each, for a university (to be as near the center of the whole tract as may be); which lots and townships are given by Congress and appropriated for the above uses forever. Also, three lots, of six hundred and forty acres each, in every township, reserved for the future disposition of Congress, and the bounty lands of the military associators to be comprised within the whole tract, provided they do not exceed one-seventh part thereof.

That five hundred thousand dollars be paid to the Board of Treasury upon closing the contract. In consideration of which, a right of entry and occupancy for a quantity of land equal to this sum, at the price stipulated, be given. And that, as soon as the Geographer, or some proper officer of the United States, shall have surveyed and ascertained the quantity of the whole, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars more be paid, amounting in the total to one million of dollars, for which the Company are to be put in possession of the other moiety of the lands above described, and receive a deed of the whole from the said Board of Treasury.

Whereupon, *Resolved*, That the above report be received, and the proceedings of Mr. Cutler be fully approved, ratified, and confirmed.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning, eight o'clock, to convene at Mr. Brackett's tavern.

August 30. Met according to adjournment, and continued until the first of September, during which time the following resolutions were agreed to:

That five thousand seven hundred and sixty acres of land, near the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio Rivers, be reserved for a City and Commons.

That within the said tract, and in the most eligible situation, there be appropriated for a City sixty squares, of three hundred and sixty feet by three hundred and sixty feet each; in an oblong form, of ten squares in front and six in depth, with streets one hundred feet in width through each range.

That four of said squares be reserved for public uses, and the remaining fifty-six be divided into house lots. That each square contain twelve house lots, of sixty feet front and one hundred feet depth, and six lots of fifty-three and three-tenths feet by one hundred and eighty feet, amounting in the total to one thousand and eight lots. And that this plan be pursued as nearly as the situation of the ground will admit; and when the same is completed, a plat thereof, with the lots numbered thereon, be transmitted to the Secretary, who shall notify a meeting of the Agents for the purpose of drawing the said

City lots—one of which shall be annexed to, and become a part of, each proprietary share.

That contiguous to, and in the vicinity of the above tract, there be laid off one thousand lots, of sixty-four acres each, as equal as possible in quality and situation, one of which, as the city lots, shall be considered a part of each proprietary share, and be drawn for in the same manner; and that a complete survey and return of these lots be made by the first of March next, to the Secretary's office.

That, for the reception and protection of settlers, one hundred houses, of thirty-six by sixteen feet, be erected, in the course of the ensuing autumn and winter, on three sides of the before mentioned oblong square, and connected by a stockade.

That, in order to carry into execution the above purposes, it is absolutely necessary that the subscribers pay into the hands of their several Agents the money subscribed, that the same may be paid into the hands of the Treasurer by the 4th of October next, which payment the agents are to make to the Treasurer accordingly.

That, as saw-mills and corn-mills will be necessary, in forwarding the settlement, proposals from any of the subscribers for erecting one or more of each kind, without expense to the proprietors, will be received by either of the Directors, the Treasurer, or at the Secretary's office, and such proposals will be decided upon as soon as may be after the completion of the contract with the Treasury Board.

And, that the manner of removing the first settlers, and superintending their operations, will be agreed upon as soon as practicable.

Resolved, That General James M. Varnum* be one of the

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*James M. Varnum, born in Dracut, Mass., 1748. Graduated at Rhode Island College. Admitted to the bar at twenty-two; he was a Colonel in the army at twenty-six; a Brigadier-General at twenty-eight; resigned his commission, and was elected to Congress at thirty-one; appointed judge, and emigrated to the west at thirty-nine; and died at forty (on the 10th day of January, 1789).—*Mag. Am. Hist.* (September, 1887).

Directors of the Ohio Company, and that Colonel Richard Platt * be the Treasurer.

A true copy from the journals.

WINTHROP SARGENT, *Sec'y.*

Aug. 31, *Fri.* Met again at Bracket's. Determined to send men this fall into the Ohio country.

Sept. 1, *Sat.* Met again in the morning. P. M. returned home.

Sept. 10–15. House full of Ohio people all the week.

Sept. 21, 22. Ohio people here. Jervis went to Dedham.

Sept. 24–29. Much engaged in the Ohio matters.

Oct. 1, 2. Taking money for the Ohio Company.

Monday, Oct. 8. Left Ipswich for New York, in order to complete the contract of the Ohio Company for lands in the Western Country. Lodged at Mr. Parsons', Lynn.

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* Richard Platt, great-grandson of Epenetus Platt, a settler of Huntington, Suffolk Co., N. Y., in 1672, and the son of Jonas and Temperance Platt, was born there in 1754. At twenty-one, he began farming at Smithfield, Long Island. On June 28, 1775, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in McDougall's regiment, and accompanied it to Canada. He was present at the capture of Montreal, and, as Adjutant-General, was given by Montgomery the preparing for the attack on Quebec, in which that officer fell. On 21st November, 1776, he was appointed a Captain in Colonel Philip Van Cortland's regiment, the Second New York. He was Aid to McDougall prior to and at the battle of White Plains. On 24th October, 1780, Platt was appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General of Washington's army; was at the surrender of Cornwallis, in 1781, and remained in the army until it was disbanded, in 1783, when he received the rank of Colonel. He was Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements for the pageant of the celebration of the adoption of the Constitution of 1787 by the State of New York, and acted as Grand Marshal on that occasion, on the 23d July, 1788, although the New York Convention did not really adopt that Constitution till three days afterward. In the War of 1812 he was appointed Commissary-General of the state. He married Miss Aspinwall, and had two sons, Richard (died a bachelor), and Hamilton, who married Louisa Sophia, daughter of Captain Thomas Bibby, of New York, and left one child—a son—Richard, who died a bachelor in California in 1849. Colonel Platt died in New York, on March 3d, 1830. He was an original member of the Cincinnati, and a warm friend of Aaron Burr. He was engaged in business with William Duer, and was pecuniarily ruined by the failure of Duer's firm in 1792, which began the series of "great panics" from which New York has suffered.—*E. F. de Lancey.*

Tues., Oct. 9. Went on to Boston, over the new bridge at Penny Ferry. Spent the day in Boston, collecting money.

Wed., Oct. 10. Spent the day in Boston on Ohio business.

Thurs., Oct. 11. Spent the day in town.

Fri., Oct. 12. Left the town for New York by way of Providence. Went on in the stage-coach. First stage Gay's, Dedham. Called on Mr. Chickering one minute. Dined at Daggets', in Walpole, in company with Dr. Stiles; bill, 2*s.* Next stage Draper's, in Attleborough; bill, 4*d.* Arrived in Providence at 7 o'clock, and took lodgings with Mr. Hitchcock.* Paid Mr. Belknap 18*s.* for magazines.

Sat., Oct. 13. Spent the day with Mr. Hitchcock, as no packet was ready for N. York; but engaged a passage with Captain Godfrey to go to-morrow morning.

Sunday, Oct. 14. Went on board the packet Lady Green, Captain Godfrey, at ten this morning. Wind fair; small. Mr. Atkinson and family on board, consisting of himself and lady, two little sons and one daughter, very pretty children, from three to five years of age, and two maids; also, Mr. Graves, of N. York, and lady, with her sister, Miss Charlotte Graves, an agreeable young lady, a daughter of the late Mr. Graves, an Episcopal clergyman in Providence.

A very fine day; afternoon, somewhat of a sea. The women most of them sea-sick. As we passed down the river, we had a fair view of Patuxet, a small village about seven miles from Providence, on the western side of the river. On the same side is Greenwich, which we saw very plain; it appeared like a compact town, but small. On the eastern side, we saw Bristol very plain. We passed the islands of Prudence,

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* Rev. Enos Hitchcock, D.D., was a native of Springfield, Mass., and a graduate of Harvard College, 1767. He was pastor of the church in what was known as the Second Parish, or "The Precinct of Salem and Beverly," Massachusetts, 1771 to 1783; meanwhile serving as Chaplain in the American army during several campaigns, 1777 to 1780. In 1783 he was called to the Congregational church at Providence, R. I., where he remained until his death, in 1803. See *Stone's History of Beverly.*

Patience, Hope, and Despair, all to the westward, leaving them between us and Rhode Island. We arrived at Newport before daylight in. The passage not very agreeable, as we were obliged to beat all the afternoon, and considerable sea. I took lodgings at Mr. Benj. Olney's, a very good lodging-house, the genteelest in the place.

Mon., Oct. 15. The wind against us. Waited on Miss Polly Stiles, at Mrs. Channing's. Rev. Mr. Channing, a young clergyman, son of Mrs. Channing, and now settled at New London, walked with me over the town of Newport. We went up the steeple of the Episcopal Church, and had a fine view of the town, which is laid out in a regular form; the buildings old and out of repair, but very few houses that make any tolerable appearance. One street in front of the town is straight and about a mile in length, makes a tolerable appearance.

There are two Congregational Churches, one Episcopal, three Baptist, and one Jewish Synagogue, which we visited. I was much gratified with a view of the Synagogue. The reading-desk, the altar and ark of the Covenant, the five books of Moses in parchments, rolled and covered with silk, the garments with the fringes which all the people wear, and the phylacteries, are curious and new. Judah was the name of the Jew that attended us. Drank tea at Mrs. Channing's, in company with Governor Bowen and lady, Mr. Gibbs, a principal merchant of this town, and several other gentlemen, and a brilliant circle of ladies.

Tues., Oct. 16. Spent the day in listing my money for Congress. Governor Bowen, Mr. Channing, and brother called on me and spent part of the evening. Mr. Atkinson and I took a walk to see Malbone's Gardens. The house was burnt a number of years ago, but the garden remains in tolerable order. Spent the evening with Mr. Bromfield, Mr. Bacon, etc., at Mr. Townsend's.

Wed., Oct. 17. Still wind bound. Attended to my papers. At Mrs. Channing's. Mr. Channing, of New London, took a share in the Ohio Company. Wrote to Mrs. Cutler, by Mr. Bromfield.

Thurs., Oct. 18. This morning the wind was so far hauled to the northward that Captain Godfrey concluded to sail. My bill, 22*s.*; petty expenses, 2*s.* Took my leave of Mr. Olney and family, who were very agreeable. It is the best boarding-house in Newport. Mr. Moore, of Charleston, South Carolina, a boarder in this house and an accomplished young gentleman traveling for his pleasure, took a passage with us. We left Newport at 10 o'clock. The same passengers as before, with Mr. Moore, made an agreeable and very civil company. Fine breeze; off Fisher's Island at sunset; a good breeze in the night. Women very sea-sick; Mr. Atkinson and the Captain, Mr. Graves, Mr. Moore, and myself the only people on board who did not complain; we were very hearty. We had good lodgings in the cabin. The women were in a cabin by themselves.

Fri., Oct. 19. This morning, we were off Fairfield, with a gentle breeze, but before noon nearly calm, which continued most of the day. Our sick people nearly recovered. In the afternoon, we went on shore on Long Island and purchased some chestnuts and apples. The people were Quakers, and very kind. We spent the evening very agreeably in playing checkers, and eating a beefsteak introduced by Mr. Moore.

Sat., Oct. 20. This morning we were in a part of the Sound which is very narrow, having the appearance of a river, and not very far from Hell Gate. On both sides of the straits, for so they appeared, are a number of country seats, very romantic, and among others is the seat of Baron Steuben.

At 7 o'clock, we passed Hell Gate. It is really a curious place. Although it was nearly high water, when it has the least dangerous appearance, it excited the idea of very great hazard in passing it. There were several very great whirlpools, a general boiling of the water, and in one part the appearance of falls. Our ship was carried round with great rapidity, and felt very little of her helm, but the people, by hard rowing, kept her near her course. The length of this frightful passage is about a quarter of a mile. One poor fellow was fast aground on the rocks. The most dangerous places are the Pot, the Frying-pan, the Gridiron, etc.

As we entered the harbor of New York we saw the carcass of the Jersey Prison-ship, on shore, on board of which so many poor Americans drew their last breath. Their bodies were carried on shore to a sand bluff, where they were half covered, and an immense number of human bones are now scattered along the beach.

Took lodgings, in company with Mr. Moore, at Mr. Smith's, No. 30 Hanover Square. Waited on the Board of Treasury, and several other gentlemen. Passage, 39*s*. L. M.

Sunday, Oct. 21. Attended church at St. George's Chapel. Three Episcopalians were ordained priests by Bishop Provost. The Bishop sat at the altar, one of the candidates, Mr. Griffin, read prayers, and Mr. Beach preached a very good and very catholic sermon from Matt.: "Take heed to yourselves and the flock of God over whom the Holy Ghost has made you overseers." His design, to give the character of ministers, very well. The ordination was solemn.

Dined with Colonel Duer, Mr. Flint, and Major Sargent. Not out in the afternoon. Supped at home with Mr. Hatfield, an English boarder, and an English Captain of a regiment now in the West Indies.

Mon., Oct. 22. Attended business at Colonel Platt's.

Tues., Oct. 23. Ditto. Dined with Sir John Temple, Dr. Rogers, and others.

Wed., Oct. 24. Ditto. Dined with Mr. Atkinson, his brother, and Mr. Storer, a brother to Mrs. Atkinson. A fine fish.

Thurs., Oct. 25. Ditto. Dined with Mr. Henderson and supped with Mr. Atkinson. Mr. Moore went on to Philadelphia.

Fri., Oct. 26. Dined with Doctor Lee.

Sat., Oct. 27. This day completed our contract with the Board of Treasury for near six millions of acres of land, and Major Sargent and myself signed the Indented Agreement on parchment in two distinct contracts; one for the Ohio Company, and the other for the Scioto Company. The greatest private contract ever made in America. Dined with General Knox. A very large company, all old Continental officers except myself. Baron Steuben one of the number. Purchased sundry articles in the morning. *Vide* bills: Paid Mr. Harrison for instruments, £14. Spent the evening at Colonel Platt's; supped and adjusted our Scioto matters.

Lord's Day, Oct. 28. Dined with the President of Congress, Mr. R. H. Lee, Mr. U. G.(?), Colonel Grayson, General Erving, Major Giles, Colonel Grayson's son, Mr. Dane, and Mr. Sargent.

Mon., Oct. 29. Paid my bill for board, nine dollars. The stage-coach called for me at four in the morning for Boston. Mr. Dane, a member of Congress, in company, and others. Lodged at Norwalk, Connecticut.

Tue., Oct. 30. Rose at three in the morning. Lodged at Durham.

Wed., Oct. 31. Rode early to Hartford. Stage stopped one day. Dined with General Parsons, and spent the evening with Mr. Barlow.*

Thurs., Nov. 1. We rose at half after four. Mr. Bethuen, of Boston, in the stage. Dined at Springfield; lodged at Graves', in Palmer.

Fri., Nov. 2. Set out at five in the morning; lodged at Pease's in Worcester, and called on Colonel Flagg.

Sat., Nov. 3. Set out at half after two in the morning; dined at Boston. Came to Salem in the Salem stage, and hired a stage to come home. Eighty miles this day nearly.

Lord's Day, Nov. 4. Preached. Extremely fatigued.

Fri., Nov. 9. Went to Boston to meet General Putnam.

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* Joel Barlow, then thirty-three years old, had already achieved distinction in the pulpit and in literature, and had commenced the practice of law in Hartford. His poem, "The Vision of Columbus," had just been published and received with favor. He became an agent for the Ohio Company, and obtained a number of subscribers. In 1788 he went to France as agent of the Scioto Land Company. In 1792 he became a citizen of the French Republic, and was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the National Convention. In 1795 he was appointed United States Consul at Algiers. In 1805 he returned to America and purchased a handsome country-seat, which he called Kalorama, near Washington City. In 1811 he was appointed Minister to France. He died in 1812 at Zarnowiec, Poland, while *en route* to Paris from Wilna, where he had been in an unsuccessful attempt to meet the Emperor Napoleon and conclude a treaty. The "Life and Letters of Joel Barlow," by Charles Burr Todd, was published in 1886.

Sat., Nov. 10. General Putnam and I dined at Mr. Williams'. I came home.

Mon., Nov. 12–14. Ohio people here the whole time.

Nov. 19–20. About home and very busy.

Wed., Nov. 21. Went to Boston, Jervis* with me. Attended a meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company at Brackett's Tavern.

Thurs., Nov. 22. Directors and Agents met again. The Directors and several of the Agents were invited to dine with Governor Bowdoin. The Governor was very complaisant to the Directors. Several other gentlemen dined with us.

Fri., Nov. 23. A meeting of the Directors.

Sat., Nov. 24. The Directors met again. Jervis and I came home.

Mon., Nov. 26; *Tues.* 27. Much engaged with Ohio men.

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* Jervis Cutler, second son of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, was born at Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, 1768. When but sixteen years old he made a voyage to France. He was the first of the forty-eight pioneers led by Rufus Putnam to land at the mouth of the Muskingum, 7th April, 1788. He remained in the west, engaged in teaching and surveying, until 1790, when he returned to Connecticut and married Miss Philadelphia Cargill. In 1802 he settled in Bainbridge, Ohio, as a fur trader. In 1806 he was chosen Major of Colonel McArthur's Ohio regiment. When troops were called to go to New Orleans he enlisted a company and was appointed Captain. He was for a time in command of the post at Newport, Kentucky. In the spring of 1809 his company was ordered to New Orleans. Soon after his arrival he was prostrated by yellow-fever, and the United States Senate having refused to confirm his appointment as Captain, because of a charge that he had made speeches attacking the administration, he returned to New England. While yet an invalid he prepared and published a book, entitled, "A Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory, and Louisiana," with a "Concise Account of the Indian Tribes west of the Mississippi." In 1818 he again came west, and finally settled in business in Nashville, Tenn., as an engraver of plates for bank notes. His first wife died in 1822. In 1824 he married Mrs. Elizabeth Chandler, of Evansville, Ind. He died in Evansville, in 1844. His sons inherited his roving disposition. One, Charles, a young man of much promise, lost his life in the ill-fated expedition of Walker to Nicaragua; another, Major George A. Cutler, was prominent as a free-state man in the early history of Kansas.

Fri., Nov. 30. Very much engaged in packing up Jervis' things for the western country.

Sat., Dec. 1. Sent to Danvers the men's baggage, who are going to the Ohio.

Lord's Day, Dec. 2. Exchanged with Mr. Swain.

Mon., Dec. 3. This morning a part of the men going to the Ohio met here two hours before day. I went on with them to Danvers. The whole joined at Major White's. Twenty men, employed by the Company, and four or five on their own expense, marched at eleven o'clock. This party is commanded by Major White.* Captain Putnam took the immediate charge of the men, wagons, etc. Jervis went off in good spirits. He is well fitted for the journey.

[A reminiscence written by Temple Cutler, Esq.,† gives some additional particulars of this event: "The little band of pioneers assembled at the house of Dr. Cutler, in Ipswich, Mass., on the 3d day of December, 1787, and there took an early breakfast. About the dawn of day they paraded in front of the house; and, after a short address from him, full of good advice and hearty wishes for their happiness and prosperity—the men being armed—three volleys were fired, and the party (one of whom was his son Jervis, aged 19) went forward, cheered heartily by the bystanders. Dr. Cutler accompanied them to Danvers, where he placed them under command of Major Haffield White and Captain Ezra Putnam. He had prepared a large and well-built wagon for their use, which preceded them with their baggage. This wagon, as a protection from cold and storm, was covered with black canvas, and on the sides was an inscription in white letters, I think in these words, '*For the Ohio at the Muskingum,*' which Dr. Cutler painted with his own hand.

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* Haffield White, who commanded this party, was a native of Danvers, Massachusetts. During the Revolutionary War he served as a Lieutenant in Hutchinson's regiment and Captain in Colonel Rufus Putnam's Fifth Massachusetts. He was in Campus Martius (the fort at Marietta, Ohio) during the Indian war, 1790 to 1795. At its close he settled in Waterford, Ohio, where he died December 13, 1807.

† Temple Cutler, Dr. Cutler's youngest son; born February 24, 1782. Married, first, Sophia Brown, in 1805; second, Mrs. Hannah (Appleton) Smith, in 1823. He lived some years in Ohio, but returned to Hamilton, Mass., where he died, November 5, 1857, aged 75 years. He was many years a successful teacher; was a representative in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1826; and other offices conferred upon him show the esteem in which he was held. He was much interested in agriculture, and his ability as a writer is shown in numerous contributions on that subject to the journals of his day. He was the father of the late Rev. Rufus P. Cutler, of Portland, Me., and of the Rev. Temple Cutler, of Essex, Mass.

"Although I was then but six years old, I have a vivid recollection of all these circumstances, having seen the preparations, and heard the conversation relative to this undertaking. I think the weather was pleasant and the sun rose clear; I know I almost wished I could be of the party then starting, for I was told we were all to go as soon as preparation was made for our reception."]

[*Dr. Cutler to Hon. Ebenezer Hazard.*]

IPSWICH, *Sept.* 18, 1787.

Dear Sir:—Your kind letter was sent me yesterday from the Post-office. It reminded me of my own neglect, particularly, in not forwarding to you the papers I promised when at New York. But my time has been so constantly occupied with the Ohio business since my return, that I have scarcely found an hour's leisure for attending to any thing else. The hobby-horse on which I am now completely mounted has been considerably animated by receiving the cousin-german you were so kind as to send me, and the pleasure of riding much increased; for I flatter myself we shall be able to vie with our western competitors in city building.

You will see, by the inclosed, that our ideas of streets, and the width of front lots, nearly correspond with yours. I am not, however, pleased with the size nor form of our squares. It is proposed that there should be nine lots on a side, and four at the end, which I think will have too much of the oblong. Were the ends increased, though, I should prefer an oblong to a square; the effect would be more pleasing to the eye, and not less convenient. The rear, which I think is now too scanty, might be increased, and the whole of the lots more uniform. The plan we have formed was, unavoidably, done in a hasty manner, without drawing it on paper, and will, I think, be somewhat altered. It is our intention to set rows of mulberry trees, immediately, on each side of the streets, at the distance of ten or fifteen feet from the line on which the houses are to be built. They will make an agreeable shade, increase the salubrity of the air, add to the beauty of the streets, and, what we have principally in view, afford food for an immense number of silk-worms. If the trees are placed fifteen feet from the houses, there will be ample room between them and the houses for foot passage, the houses less liable to suffer by them, and the streets will be seventy feet between the rows of trees—a width, I should suppose, sufficient for every purpose. I must beg the favor of your opinion with respect to the lots, squares, and trees. The quantity of ground we propose to lay out in city lots is to be equal to four miles by two—which will admit of about four lots to a share. But we conceive ourselves too much unacquainted with the form and situation of the land proper for building to lay out the whole of the lots until it has been properly explored. We have, therefore, made a general reserve of a quantity of land sufficient for the remaining city lots and large commons, which are to be laid out soon after we take possession of the ground. So much for the city.

You ask what we have done at our meeting? Not what I wished to have done. In making choice of a Treasurer, two gentlemen only were mentioned. The one whom I suggested to you, and the one elected. They both appeared to meet the full approbation of the agents, as such characters as they would wish to intrust with their funds. It was mentioned by some, that the gentleman who was elected held a large sum in public securities, had interested himself much in the Company, and might probably be prevailed upon to loan some of them to the Company if we should fail of collecting the whole of the first payment by the time proposed. I fancied, however, that as much was suggested in favor of the other gentleman; but, in addition to this, as the former was more particularly known to the officers of the army, who made up a large proportion of the agents, the ballot closed in his favor.

The new director was appointed against the inclinations even of the most of those who voted for him. But we were so circumstanced as to be under the necessity of choosing him. He represented upward of one hundred shares from the State of Rhode Island. Several gentlemen of respectable characters from that State requested that he might be appointed. We wanted the money, and must not only have failed of it, but given umbrage and excited a powerful opposition.

Shares, since our meeting, have been in great demand; the most of them are now disposed of, and principally to such people as intend to go into the country. Were it not for the extreme scarcity of hard money, we should be able to obtain immediately much more than the first payment. We have now no doubt of obtaining that sum by the 4th of October. You will see that the directors will not be able to pocket all the hard dollars, for they have agreed that one hundred houses shall be built this autumn and winter, and as much seed as possible put into the ground in the spring. We have already engaged one hundred men, who are to march for that country by the 25th of October; and if our money, after purchasing the teams, tools, etc., will admit, we shall increase the number. General Parsons and General Putnam are both to go with them, but Putnam to have the immediate control of the works. Your sincere friend, M. CUTLER.

BOSTON, *Sept.* 29, 1787.

My Dear Sir:—I have a letter from our friend Hazard, in which he says you promised to write to him, and he is desirous of hearing from you relative to the Ohio Country, or rather, the doings of the Company.

Yesterday, two families of your people passed through this Town on their way thither. Major Sargent says they had your blessing before they left home.

When you come this way again, remember that you are one visit in arrears to me. I have it chalked up against you. I want to talk much with you about the *good land*. Had I cash to spare, I might become a purchaser, *at non, ergo*.

Did you hear the name of your new city? *Castrapolis;* Anglicè, *Camptown*, in allusion to the ancient fortress.

Well, my friend, if you do go, remember to correspond with him who always wishes to be your affectionate friend,

THE REV. MANASSEH CUTLER. JERE. BELKNAP.

IPSWICH, *Sept.* 39, 1787.

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 16th I did not receive until yesterday, and last evening I had the pleasure of receiving another of the 24th instant. Since our last meeting and circulation of our hand-bills, shares have been in great demand, but the extreme scarcity of money renders it impossible for many even of very considerable property to become adventurers. I have, however, disposed of a considerable number, and made collections equal to my expectations. Was money to be had, or the time a few months longer (when fat cattle would be fit for the market), I should be assured of obtaining a sum equal to our wishes. Great exertions are now making, and although the time is short, hope to make considerable additions. The rage for going into the Country from this part of Massachusetts and New Hampshire has astonished me. More than one hundred and fifty have applied to me to go this autumn on the terms we agreed on at the last meeting. They have almost refused to take a denial. The men I have engaged are equal to any I would have chosen.

I received a letter yesterday from General Putnam. He writes that he has had considerable success, and the prospect increasing. He has not heard what progress has been made in the Counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, but expected to meet General Tupper and Major Ashley at Springfield this week. He thinks the collection will be "sufficient to complete our contract." He writes very pressingly for both of us to go to New York. It appears unnecessary for me to go, nor do I see how I can well make it convenient. General Putnam will be in Boston on Thursday next week, but I think it will not be possible for me to complete my collections earlier than Saturday, which will render it impracticable for me to be in Boston before Monday. General Putnam expects General Tupper and Major Ashley to come with him. If they do, I hope they will not return until after Monday, for I very much wish to see them.

I am pleased to hear that Mr. Flint is about to go on to New York. Wish him now in Europe. I mentioned to him the matter of supplies. He proposed taking letters of credit from some merchant in New York to his correspondent in

Holland, which he supposed might easily be obtained. This, I think, might be the best mode of making provision for him. If he is successful, he may soon refund; if not, we can pay the money here and save the risk of the seas. Colonel Duer will most certainly assist him in obtaining them. Mr. Flint will be able to carry with him our new federal constitution, which I think a very favorable circumstance. Is there not a tolerable prospect of his being able to negotiate in England? Our associates at New York and Mr. Jefferson will be, perhaps, the best judges. Our prospects abroad, at any rate, I think, brighten upon us.

I am, dear sir,
Most sincerely yours,
M. CUTLER.

MAJOR WINTHROP SARGENT.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INFLUENCE EXERTED BY DR. CUTLER IN THE FORMATION OF THE ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES NORTH-WEST OF THE RIVER OHIO, PASSED JULY 13, 1787.

The general subject of establishing a distinct government or Colony westward of the limits of any of the thirteen colonies, received the attention of the British government before the Revolutionary War.

The following reference is made to this subject in a report made to Congress on May 1, 1782. Referring to the lands then claimed by Virginia, the Committee say: "It appeared that, in the year 1763, a very large part thereof was separated and appointed for a distinct government and colony by the King of Great Britain, with the knowledge and approbation of the government of Virginia." (Journ. Cong.) The Earl of Dunsmore writes quite fully to the Earl of Hillsborough, under date of November 12, 1770, "on the scheme in agitation of establishing a colony on the Ohio." (N. Y. Col. Rec., vol. 8, p. 253.) Sir William Johnson, in a letter dated June 20, 1774, to Earl Dartmouth, says, "a considerable number of settlements were made on the Ohio as early as 1765." (Vol. 8, p. 460.) Dartmouth writes to Johnson, July 6, 1774, strongly condemning the scheme.

It also appears that an agreement was entered into with the King and council for erecting a colony called "Vandalia," which agreement was completed all to affixing the seals and passing the usual forms of office. (Journ. Cong., May 1, 1782.) General Washington refers to this scheme in his propositions for colonizing his lands on the Ohio already given. (p. 140.) All this was before the war, and while the territory belonged to the crown. Congress took up the subject before they had acquired the territory by conquest, and followed it up until the final conclusion, July 13, 1787. The following extracts from the journals of Congress are presented, to show that "*new states*," "*distinct governments*," were regarded as the true line of public policy in dealing with the future interests of the vast interior:

1. On the 21st of May, 1779, the delegates from the State of Maryland received instructions, that were entered upon the Journals of Congress, claiming that the unsettled country, if "wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen States, should be considered a common property, subject to be parceled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall direct."

2. The following is the record of Congress for October 10, 1780: "*Resolved*, That the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States by any particular state, pursuant to the recommendations of Congress of the 6th of September last, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct Republican States, which shall become members of the Federal Union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other states; that each state which shall be formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than 100 or more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit; that the necessary and reasonable expenses which any particular state shall have incurred since the commencement of the present war in subduing any British Posts, or in maintaining posts or garrisons within and for the defense, or in acquiring any part of the territory that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, shall be reimbursed. That the said lands shall be granted or settled at such times and under such regulations as shall hereafter be agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled, or any nine of them." The above constitutes the entire record in the Journals of Congress for October 10, 1780. No names of attendance, votes, or Committee are given; but it is the first distinct announcement by Congress of the policy of organizing new states or distinct governments in the North-west.

3. On May 1, 1782, the following resolution is embraced in a report made by a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Boudinot,

Varnum, Jenifer, Smith, and Livermore, to whom had been referred the cessions of New York, Virginia, and Connecticut, and petitions from the Indiana, Vandalia, Illinois, and Wabash Land Companies:

"*Resolved*, That whenever the United States in Congress assembled shall find it for the good of the Union to permit new settlements on unappropriated lands, they will erect a new state or states, to be taken into the Federal Union in such manner that no one state so erected shall exceed the quantity of 130 miles square, and that the same shall be laid out into Townships of about six miles square." The Journal does not show that this Resolution was adopted, but it indicates the prevailing views at the time.

4. On September 18, 1783, a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Rutledge, Ellsworth, Bedford, Gorham, and Madison, reported the following proposition, which was agreed to: "That the territory so ceded should be laid out and formed into states containing a suitable extent of territory, not less than 100 nor more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit; and that the states so formed should be distinct republican states, and admitted members of the Federal Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other states." The deed of cession from Virginia, which was accepted by Congress on March 1, 1784, contains the above proposition.

5. On the 14th of October, 1783, a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Duane, Peters, Carroll, Hawkins, and A. Lee, presented a report upon the subject of Indian affairs and the western lands. During the discussion, Mr. Gerry offered the following proposition, which was "agreed to," although there is no entry showing that the entire report was adopted. Mr. Gerry moved to amend so that it would read as follows: "Your Committee therefore submit it for consideration, whether it will not be wise and necessary, as soon as circumstances shall permit, to erect a district of the western territory into a distinct government, as well for doing justice to the army of the United States, who are entitled to lands as a bounty, or in reward for their services, as for the accommodation of such as

may desire to become purchasers and inhabitants, and in the interim to appoint a committee to report a plan, consistent with the principles of confederation, for connecting with the Union by a temporary government the purchasers and inhabitants of the said district, until their numbers and circumstances shall entitle them to form a permanent constitution for themselves, and as citizens of a free, sovereign, and independent state, to be admitted to a representation in the Union. Provided, such Constitution shall not be incompatible with the republican principles which are the basis of the Constitution of the republican states of the Union."

6. The next expression of Congressional policy is found in the adoption of a report made by Messrs. Jefferson, Howell, and Chase, April 23, 1784. In this case the previously declared intentions of Congress in regard to new states were so far consummated as to work out the general outlines of a governmental scheme. This effort was evidently unsatisfactory, as no attempt was ever made to effect a settlement of territory under its provisions; and, subsequently, the subject was placed in the hands of another committee, consisting of Messrs. Johnson, Pinckney, Smith, Dane, and Henry. This Committee reported an ordinance on April 26, 1787, which was ordered to a third reading on May 10th, but never received final action. A Committee, consisting of Messrs. Carrington, Dane, R. H. Lee, McKean, and Smith, reported the ordinance which received the unanimous approval of all the eight states then present, on the 13th of July, 1787.

It can not be claimed that there was any concert of action actually agreed upon between Congress and the promoters of the Ohio Company in regard to founding a "new state;" still, it is evident that governmental institutions were constantly in view by the "Associates," from the first inception of their plan until its consummation. These evidences have already been presented to the reader, as they occurred in proper order, but attention may be called to them at this place in the narrative in connection with the policy of Congress.

Colonel Pickering undoubtedly expressed a prevailing sentiment at that time when he said, "But a new plan is in contemplation, no less than forming *a new state westward of the*

Ohio." Colonel Pickering drew up an outline of principles to be embraced in the constitution of the "new state." The 285 officers, in their petition to Congress, say: "That this country is of sufficient extent, the land of such quality, and the situation such as may induce Congress to assign and mark it out as a tract of territory suitable to form a distinct Government (or colony of the United States), in time to be admitted *one* of the confederated States of America." "That provisions may also be made for a further grant of lands to such of the army as wish to become adventurers in the new Government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchase of public securities as Congress shall judge most for the interest of the intended government, and rendering it of lasting consequence to the American Empire." This Petition was dated June 16, 1783. Mr. Gerry was the representative in Congress of the largest number of these petitioners, and it is not improbable that he had their wishes in view when he refers in his amendment (four months afterward, October 14th) to "doing justice to the army of the United States, who are entitled to lands as a bounty, or in reward of their services." General Putnam had in view an organized government when he wrote his letter to General Washington, June 16th, the same date as the officers' petition.

From these evidences of intention on the part of the "Associates," it is a reasonable conclusion that their Agent, in attending to their business before Congress, would conduct his negotiations on a line that was thus marked out as acceptable to both Congress and his constituents. There is abundant evidence that Dr. Cutler's own views were in harmony with the other parties in the transaction. In his letter to Major Sargent, he speaks of the "State of Washington" as connected with their plan. [See *Appendix.*]

In his pamphlet, issued for the purpose of inducing emigration, he dwells upon the idea of an established Government in the new country as a motive to settle there. He says: "In the ordinance of Congress for the government of the territory North-west of the Ohio, it is provided that, after said territory acquires a certain degree of population, it shall be divided into states. The Eastern state that is thus provided to be made is bounded by the Great Miami on the West and by Pennsylvania on the East. The center of this State will fall between the Scioto and Hocking. At the mouth of one of these rivers will probably be the seat of government for this state; and if we may indulge in the sublime contemplation of beholding the whole territory of the United States settled by an enlightened people, and continued under one government, on the Ohio River, and not far from this spot, will be the seat of Empire for the whole dominion." It is worthy of notice, in looking up the beginnings of governmental ideas and policies, that the plan of Pickering, and Putnam's letter to Washington, foreshadowed civil and political organization before the Resolutions reported by Jefferson, April 23, 1784, were adopted. The earlier efforts of Pickering and Putnam afford very positive evidence that a "new state"—an "intended government"—occupied a prominent place in the minds of the projectors of the "Ohio scheme." While Jefferson's resolutions were a nearer approach to the necessary forms of a government, the intention to have a government is clearly manifested. Putnam's system of defenses against Indian invasions was a wise and comprehensive one. If it had been adopted promptly, there would have been no Indian war, no defeats of two armies, no large outlay in organizing ultimate success. Putnam outlined the true Indian policy in this letter, just as the Agent of the Ohio Company secured from Congress, in the sixth article of the ordinance of 1887, a clear and distinct announcement of a policy of peace and justice toward the Indians.

In the attempts of Pickering and Putnam are found valuable principles in regard to Land Tenure, the Township system, support of schools and religion, and *total exclusion of slavery.* It is fair to claim, therefore, that when the officers of the army entered upon their plan of a "new state westward of the Ohio," they entertained very definite views in regard to the civil and political foundations that would be laid for their expected homes. They were not mere land seekers, or even home builders. The weightier words, "state," "government," "empire," found place in their anticipations.

Passing from these preliminary statements in regard to Congressional policy, as well as prevailing views outside of that body, it is a matter of historic interest to inquire into and ascertain as nearly as possible the influence exerted by the Agent of the Ohio Company in his negotiations with Congress in shaping the material and procuring the passage of the Organic Law that was to go with them into that distant wilderness. It was passed by the Continental Congress then in session in New York. It was, therefore, their work so far as the responsibilities of legislation go, but it can hardly be claimed that every member of that distinguished body shared equally, or even largely, in its formation. The subject had been exclusively in their hands, as shown by the foregoing extracts from their journals, from 1780 to within a few days of its final passage; that is, no evidence can be found that any outside influence was brought to bear during that period of Congressional labor. Their records give evidence of the full extent and character of their wisdom and counsels in preparing an "Ordinance for the Government of the Western Territory." The results of their labors are found in the Resolutions passed April 23, 1784, which proved an abortion by remaining a dead letter, with intervening reports of substitutes, until it was brushed away by the action of July 13, 1787.

It can not be denied that these Congressional efforts embraced valuable principles, and their originators are entitled to full credit. It is not necessary here to discuss their merits, as they are matters of history, and are open to careful attention and well worthy of it. First came the paper adopted April 23, 1784; second, the paper reported April 26, 1787, which probably grew out of Parsons' application to purchase lands. This was distinct from that of April 23, 1784, as it proposed the entire repeal of its predecessor. Although that which passed July 13, 1787, embraced some of the principles of the two that preceded it, yet it was distinct enough to be regarded as a third effort to provide an organic law for the Western Territory. In this effort, Congressional action was directed by outside influence. This influence supplied an element that had been lacking in all former efforts. Hitherto the subject had been in the hands of able statesmen, wise and patriotic men, who undoubtedly sought to forecast a model governmental plan; but it can hardly be claimed that they expected to make a personal application of its principles, or that they were acting for others who stood ready to do so.

Early in July, 1787, Congress was called upon to consider an application such as had never before been made. It was a proposition to undertake the permanent occupation of that distant wilderness in a systematic manner of settlement, upon a large scale, embracing distinctly the idea of a "new state," as cherished by the projectors of the scheme. When Dr. Cutler placed this scheme before Congress he could appeal honestly and urgently for the establishment there of such civil and social institutions as would meet his own wants and those of his neighbors as pioneer settlers. He could say with propriety: "If we venture our all, with our families, in this enterprise, we must know beforehand what kind of foundations we are to build on." Hence, his first effort was to attend to the organic law.

There is sufficient historic data to satisfy the inquirer that this was the situation when, on the 10th of July, 1787, Dr. Cutler made the following entry in his journal: "This morning another conference with the committee. As Congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal Territory, for which a bill has been prepared, and a copy sent to me (with leave to make remarks and propose amendments), which I had taken the liberty to remark upon and propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable time to go on to Philadelphia." July 19th, after his return from Philadelphia, he says: "Called on members of Congress very early in the morning, and was furnished with the ordinance establishing a government in the Western Federal Territory. It is in a degree new-modeled. The amendments I proposed have all been made, except one, and that is better qualified. It was that we should not be subject to continental taxation unless we were entitled to a full representation in Congress. This could not be fully obtained, for it was considered in Congress as offering a premium to emigrants. They have granted us representation with the right of debating, but not voting, upon our being first subject to taxation."

The next inquiry is, what influence did he exert at that time and under these circumstances in the formation of the ordinance? It had evidently been a subject of discussion after he had reached New York, and before he went to Philadelphia, or it would not have been submitted to him. There is no record of the precise amendments that he suggested; and it is quite probable that his advice extended to and covered the whole subject, as his journal shows constant intercourse with the members before his visit to Philadelphia. It was during this first portion of his time that the governmental ordinance was under discussion, and he did not enter fully upon his negotiation for a purchase of land until his return from Philadelphia, after the passage of the governmental ordinance. The following traditional testimony is presented as worthy of acceptance in establishing his claims to the authorship of some of its most important principles:

Dr. Joseph Torrey, of Salem, Mass., wrote to Judge Ephriam Cutler, Jan. 30, 1847, as follows: "At a recent professional call at Hamilton [Dr. Cutler's home] Brother Temple produced large files of Ohio documents, but I had time only for a hasty examination. I saw among these documents the Ordinance of 1787 on a printed sheet. On its margin was written that Mr. Dane requested Dr. Cutler to suggest such provisions as he deemed advisable, and that at Dr. Cutler's instance was inserted what relates to religion, education, and slavery. These facts have long been known to me as household words."

Hon. Daniel Webster solicited and obtained the examination of Dr. Cutler's journal. Subsequently, Temple Cutler wrote to his brother Ephraim: "Webster is now convinced that the man whose foresight suggested some of these articles was our Father."

Ephraim Cutler has left the following written statement of his recollections: "I visited my Father at Washington during the last session he attended Congress (1804–5). In his boarding house he occupied a room with the reverend gentleman who represented the Hampshire and the Connecticut River counties, whose name I have forgotten. We were in conversation relative to the political concerns of Ohio, the ruling parties, and the effect of the (Ohio) Constitution in the promotion of the general interest, when he observed that he was informed that I had prepared that portion of the Ohio

Constitution which contained the part of the Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery. He wished to know if it was a fact. On my assuring him that it was, he observed that he thought it a singular coincidence, as he himself had prepared that part of the ordinance while he was in New York negotiating the purchase of the lands for the Ohio Company. I had not then seen the Journal he kept while he was in New York at that time." In another written memoranda Judge Cutler refers to this conversation with his father, and states as the reason why this prohibition of slavery, as well as the recognition of religion, morality, and knowledge, as foundations of civil government, were incorporated into the ordinance, and provision made in the land purchase for their support, arose from the fact that "he was acting for associates, friends, and neighbors, who would not embark in the enterprise, unless these principles were unalterably fixed."

Additional support to the claim of Dr. Cutler's authorship to these organic principles is found in his own written avowals of them as applicable to the conditions of the western settlements. A sermon, marked No. 418, has the following note:

"City of Marietta, in the Hall of Campus Martius, August 24, 1788, being the first sermon I delivered there, and composed for that purpose."

The text was Malachi, 1 : 11 : "In every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts."

The following extracts indicate with sufficient clearness that the ideas of the ordinance and the sermon were identical: "The sun, the glorious luminary of day, comes forth from his chambers of the east, and rejoicing to run his course, carries light and heat and joy through the nations to the remotest parts of the west and returns to the place whence he came. In like manner divine truth, useful knowledge, and improvement, appear to proceed in the same direction, until the bright day of science, virtue, pure religion, and free government shall pervade the western hemisphere. . . . To promote the civil and social happiness of a new settlement, too early attention can not be paid to the cultivation of the principles of religion and virtue. Religion ought never to be made a political engine, but while it is preserved perfectly free from such a prostitution, and is improved to the great design of its institution, it affords the greatest aid to civil government, and has the most happy effect on society. . . . An early attention to the instruction of youth is of the greatest importance to a new settlement. It will lay the foundations for a well regulated society. It is the only way to make subjects conform to its laws and regulations from principles of reason and custom rather than the fear of punishment."

In the following preamble, prepared for the charter of the university for the endowment of which he procured two townships of land, he expresses the same sentiments: "Institutions for the liberal education of youth being the basis of arts and sciences, essential to the security of a free constitution, important to morals and religion, promote the peace, order, and happiness of society, and are honorable to the government which patronizes them, and the people who are forming settlements in the Western Territory, are too remote for placing their children for education in the seminaries already established in the United States; from a tender regard to the interests of those who are increasing the agriculture and wealth of the nation, while they are subjecting themselves to hardships and inconveniences in a wilderness, deprived of advantages enjoyed by the other states, and as Congress has made grants of land for the purpose of encouraging and supporting a university and schools in the Western Territory, Be it enacted," etc.

The following extract from the Pamphlet, which he published as an "Explanation" of the north-western country, gives further evidence that this subject of "knowledge," as expressed in the Ordinance, was an important consideration in his efforts to promote the settlement of the country. He says: "In the late Ordinance of Congress, for disposing of the western lands as far down as the Scioto, the provision that is made for schools, and the endowment of an University, looks with a most favorable aspect upon the settlement, and furnishes the presentiment that, by proper attention to the subject of education, under these advantages, the field of science may be greatly enlarged, and the acquisition of useful knowledge placed upon a more respectable footing here than in any other part of the world. Besides the opportunity of opening a new and unexplored region for the range of natural history, botany, and the medical science, there will be an advantage which no other part of the earth can boast, and which probably will never occur again; that, in order to begin *right*, there will be no *wrong* habits to combat, and no inveterate systems to overturn—there is no rubbish to remove before laying the foundations."

To these expressions of sentiments, so nearly identical with those embodied in the Ordinance, may be added the personal efforts made by Dr. Cutler in actually applying these principles, as shown in the correspondence and papers found in this volume. Congress had refused to set apart section twenty-nine in each township for the support of religion, but Dr. Cutler insisted that one-thirty-sixth of the land should be applied to that purpose. He also insisted on two townships as a foundation for a University, and was at great pains to prepare a charter for that institution. In a letter to his son Ephraim, dated August 27, 1818, he says that the people are indebted solely to his efforts for that appropriation. It is quite evident that these lines of public policy were cherished by him, and it is reasonable to claim that he improved the opportunity to incorporate them in the organic law.

It must be borne in mind that, while the associates were all officers of the army, and men of intelligence and experience, as well as correct principles, they selected their agent from another calling in life. True he had served as Chaplain in the Revolutionary Army, but his life and labors were identified and spent with that remarkable class of men known as the New England or Puritan Clergy. They were, as a body, *remarkable*, because, at that time and previously, they exerted a greater influence in shaping the characters and giving direction to the active energies of a whole people than any other class of citizens. They had carefully considered and constantly presented to the people the essential principles of human rights, of personal liberty. as well as the necessity of obedience to law; in a word, all the firm foundations upon which a republic can stand. As a support to these principles, they had organized and maintained a system of popular education extending from the common school to institutions of the highest culture. Their influence over the people resulted from *religious convictions*, and permeated every fiber of social, civil, and political life. They were not politicians, did not claim to be statesmen, yet governmental institutions were molded by their precepts.

Ramsey, in his "History of the American Revolution," fully supports this view of the prevailing influence of the Clergy. He says:* "The Clergy of New England were a numerous, learned, and respectable body, who had a great ascendency over the minds of their hearers. They connected religion and patriotism, and their sermons and prayers represented the cause of America as the cause of Heaven."

It is reasonable to suppose that, when the opportunity was presented, for one of the Clergy to appear before Congress to negotiate for the terms and conditions of future homes for his associates, he would follow the line of his own personal convictions and insist upon the very educational and moral forces that are found in the Ordinance.

The origin of the anti-slavery clause in the Ordinance has been a subject of general interest, and is of sufficient importance to demand careful examination. The popular misapprehension that its authorship belongs to Jefferson is scarcely worthy of discussion, when it is matter of history that he was in France at the time the Ordinance was passed, and the only connection he had with the subject is to be found in Resolutions having in view the same general purpose of a northwestern government, passed in 1784, which contained nothing in relation to slavery, although a provision was reported by the committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Chase, and Howell, virtually giving permission for slavery to enter the territory, but to be excluded after the year 1800. Even this was defeated, and posterity has much more reason for gratitude for the defeat than the report of so dangerous a principle in the organic law. This is quite evident from the fact that, even with the prohibition in the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, the attempt was made, under the auspices of Jefferson, at the time of the adoption of the first constitution for the State of Ohio, to introduce slavery into the state. This effort was supported by Jefferson's favorite theory of states' rights. The advocates of the measure claimed that, as soon as the state assumed its own autonomy and became a sovereign among others, it had the right to decide upon the provisions of an ordinance which was the act of only one party, the general government. The central and southern portions of the state then had a majority of the population, and the labor of slaves would have suited the interests of their fertile valleys, while the political prospects of the new and rising "states' rights democracy" would have been advanced by holding out such a premium for emigration from Virginia and Kentucky.

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* Vol. I., p. 199.

The rejection of Jefferson's efforts, both in Congress and in Ohio, was a deliverance from impending danger. To what source, then, can this governmental policy of the exclusion of slavery from the north-west be traced? This is not simply or mainly an inquiry into the personal opinions that prevailed at that time. Anti-slavery sentiment was then in the ascendant. No one could claim exclusive possession of it.

The first appearance of a proposition to incorporate the sentiment as a measure of governmental policy into the organic laws of the north-west, or, in fact, of any organic law in this country, is found in the scheme drawn up by Timothy Pickering, for the organization of a new state in the Ohio Country, as stated in his letter dated April 7, 1783. "The total exclusion of slavery from the state to form an essential and irrevocable part of the constitution" were the words thus presented for the consideration of the very men who originated the whole of the great enterprise of carving out a new state from the eastern portion of that "great and wide wilderness," and converting it into homes for themselves and their neighbors.

The anti-slavery feature of the governmental plan must have been discussed and understood at the time. The officers must have known of it, and approved it, when they signed their petition dated June 16, over two months after the circulation of Pickering's scheme. Washington must have been familiar with the views of his associates, whose cause he espoused in presenting the petition, and "exerting every power he was master of" in obtaining for it a favorable consideration.

Following this movement of the officers in securing the organization of a "*new state*," from its inception, as clearly established by contemporaneous records, to the subsequent organization of the Ohio Company of Associates, it is no stretch of imagination or fact to claim that when this scheme of a "*new state*" was committed to the hands of the chosen Agent of the men who originated it, that that Agent should enter upon his work in full possession of the views and wishes of his associates, which were all in accord with his own, and that he should make every effort to secure the adoption by Congress of so vital a provision as that which was shadowed forth by Pickering's paper. That paper contained the first written embodiment of a common sentiment in the form of organic law.

It is well to bear in mind that the scheme of the officers was not simply one to provide for individual necessities. It embraced the broader proposition of a "new state," an "intended government." Doubtless there were honorable aspirations of future control, position, and legitimate expectations of personal benefits that might result from the great hazard they were encountering. All these considerations would lead them to look well to the foundations. It is, therefore, only a reasonable presumption that Dr. Cutler, acting as their Agent, should exert himself in the direction of establishing those fundamental principles which were forever to remain the basis of all "laws, constitutions, and ordinances," of the intended government. When he reached New York on his important errand, he found that the southern or slave states were masters of the situation. The legislative power was in their hands, as shown by the record of July 13. Five of the eight states voting on the adoption of the ordinance were slave states; why did it receive their unanimous approval?

Dr. Cutler's journey was not a sentimental one, or in any sense sectional or political, much less a crusade against neighbors or institutions. He took over forty letters of introduction to prominent and influential men; of these, three were to the members of Congress from Virginia. His journal shows that he paid special attention to these gentlemen—Carrington, Lee, and Grayson—and "*members from the southward.*" The record shows that a majority of a newly organized committee, with Carrington at its head, were from the slave states.

Mr. Dane's* letter to Rufus King, dated July 16, 1787, throws light upon the subject. It is quite evident that Mr. Dane was not consulted as to the anti-slavery clause. He says: "I had no idea that the states would agree to the sixth article prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts of the eastern states was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft; but, finding the house favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other parts, I moved the article, and it was agreed to without opposition." Mr. Dane says: "I moved the article." Now, it must be borne in mind that Mr. Dane was a member of a committee to whom the legislative body had referred the whole subject of the ordinance. Being a member of that committee, the strong probability is that he would not have moved that amendment without first consulting his committee. An outside member might have done so; but courtesy to his colleagues on the committee required him to consult them before making such a motion. Such was undoubtedly the case, so that the motion really came from the committee through him to the house; and it was not prompted by himself, as acting on his individual responsibility.

The important inquiry, therefore, is, whence came this unanimity by a committee, a majority of whom were normally hostile to the sixth article? In fact, the Congress itself had shown a decided hostility to this measure more than once prior to this occasion. Mr. Dane seems to so understand the situation, for he says: "I had no idea that the states would agree to the sixth article prohibiting slavery," and assigns as a reason, "as only Massachusetts of the eastern states was present." The explanation is easily found in the fact that Massachusetts had another agent on the ground, who had exerted such positive influence with the southern members that the whole question was settled quietly, without discussion, without sectional appeal, and was controlled by the paramount interests and considerations that then surrounded the whole subject. Dr. Cutler did not go to Massachusetts for anti-slavery action, or for land purchase. He went directly to Virginia, and to members from the "southward." They were men that could, and did, listen to an intelligent presentation of a most important national enterprise, and they possessed the patriotism and integrity of character that raised them above a mere sectional view of the matter.

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* See Mr. Dane's letter to Mr. King, at the close of this chapter, as copied from the New York *Tribune*.

In this letter to Rufus King, Mr. Dane also refers to Dr. Cutler's application for the purchase of Ohio lands as follows: "The Ohio Company appeared to purchase a large tract of the Federal lands, about six or seven millions of acres. . . . We are in a fair way to fix the terms of our Ohio sale, etc. We have been upon it for three days steadily. The magnitude of the purchase makes us very cautious about the terms of it, and the security necessary to insure the performance of them." This shows the intimate connection that existed between the governmental ordinance and the land purchase. First came the question of laying such foundations for social and civil well-being, in the entire future, as would be acceptable to the "adventurers," as they were then known.

No attempt seems to have been made for a land purchase until the more important governmental foundations were laid; then came the terms of sale, involving price, quantity, location, terms of payment, security, and other considerations—all of which seem to have been canvassed openly and thoroughly. Mr. Dane says, "we have been upon it for three days steadily." Dr. Cutler's journal shows that it was not consummated until July 23, ten days after the passage of the governmental ordinance.

Mr. Dane says: "The magnitude of the purchase makes us very cautious about the terms of it." Dr. Cutler's journal shows that he was equally cautious. The result shows that, in a fair, honorable, and straightforward transaction, both parties endeavored to secure and promote the best interests of their several constituencies. Congress was satisfied to impart an actual cash value to the only resource then within their control, at a fair price for so large a quantity, and to open up their vast and unoccupied real estate to future purchasers and occupants. The purchasers were satisfied to convert their final certificates, then nearly worthless—although the price of their blood and toils—into future homes.

The motives that induced Virginia to take the lead in this important enterprise are found in the protection that would be afforded to her exposed frontier from savage attacks. This was clearly pointed out by General Putnam in his letter to General Washington, and must have been approved by him and the Virginia members. Virginia, under the leadership of Washington, had entered upon a wise and comprehensive policy of internal improvement, designed to secure the trade of the Ohio valley and the North-west to Virginia seaports. Additional value would also be imparted to her bounty lands lying between the Scioto and Little Miami. Add to these the personal sympathy of Washington for the success of his old associates, as well as his own landed interests in the Ohio valley, and we find plain business considerations that controlled at that time this most important decision. And all evidence points to Dr. Manasseh Cutler as the agent who carefully, skillfully, and successfully conducted these negotiations and brought about their results.

By referring to sources of information as above indicated, we have sufficient evidence, first, that the officers of the continental army were the originators of the grand scheme of occupation and cultivation of the "back country;" second, that their scheme involved distinctly the idea and plan of a "new state," an "intended government," as clearly expressed in their petition; third, that the positive prohibition of slavery was one of the organic ideas to be introduced into their "intended government," and made forever irrevocable; fourth, of the two hundred and eighty-five signers of that petition, two hundred and thirty-one were from the eastern or New England states; fifth, a like proportion of the subscribers to the funds of the Ohio Company of Associates were from the same localities. It is a reasonable inference from these premises that so important a principle, one so universally accepted by all the interested parties, as the total prohibition of slavery in the constitution of their new state, should have been cherished and kept alive during the preparatory interval from April, 1783, to July, 1787, when their views could be presented to Congress; and that their wishes should be urged upon Congress by their Agent. It is also true that other important lines of public policy, as connected with the "back country," can be traced to the same source.

General Putnam, in his letter to General Washington, June 16, 1783, says: "The Petitioners hope that no grant will be made but by townships six miles square." He also speaks of a portion of each township for "the university and schools." Colonel Pickering in his scheme contemplates the use of lands for "establishing schools and academies." There can be no doubt that all the moral and educational influences, as well as "human rights," entered into and were essential factors of a scheme that embraced the transfer of their cherished principles and policies of civil and social life, along with themselves, to these distant homes.

So far as the introduction of the anti-slavery idea into the proceedings of Congress is concerned, it can be traced to the report made by Jefferson, Howell, and Chase, and adopted on April 23, 1784. Subsequently, Mr. King offered a proposition for a total prohibition of slavery, but it was not adopted; so that Congressional action, up to 1787, had been barren of any practical results. It is highly probable that Mr. King was stimulated to make his effort by a correspondence with his friend, Colonel Pickering, who urges him, "for God's sake, then, let one more effort be made to prevent so terrible a calamity" as the introduction of slavery into the North-west. There was, undoubtedly, a free interchange of views between those who were invested with the responsibilities of legislation and those who expected to make a practical application of any policy that might be adopted, both in regard to survey and sale of land and the government of the territory; but the evidence seems strongly to show that the credit of giving practical direction and application to ideas and principles then of common acceptation, is to be accorded to that intelligent and competent association of men who planned and executed the

Ohio scheme, and their success was largely the result of the labors of their Agent.

Another important principle is announced in the ordinance, the origin or occasion for which is worthy of some attention. The third article provides that: "The utmost good faith shall be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights and liberty they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them." We have thus distinctly marked out what has received in more modern days the title of a "peace policy" toward the Indians.

Is it probable that in making his terms with Congress, Dr. Cutler would take this subject into consideration?

The following letter, addressed by General Putnam to Mr. Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, then laboring among the Indians, presents the views and policies of the Ohio Company, and will be seen to correspond very closely with the principles as established in the ordinance. The letter is dated, "Sumrell's Ferry, Youghiogheny River, Feb. 29, 1788," and is as follows: "I have read with pleasure a pamphlet entitled, 'Stated Rules of the Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,' which you was so obliging as to present to Mr. Foster (one of the Ohio Company when he was at Bethlehem on his way to the Western country in January last). I was also very happy to find by that gentleman's account that you entertain a favorable opinion of the settlement our company are about to make on the Muskingum River. Be assured, sir, that the directors of the Ohio Company entertain the most friendly disposition toward the natives, and nothing could give them greater satisfaction than to see a friendly correspondence established between the company and their Indian neighbors; such a correspondence as would be a mutual benefit to each other; and there are some circumstances which I conceive are in our favor. Perhaps no people can be found who are better calculated to begin a settlement in the neighborhood of the Indians than those from New England, for the following reasons: Because as the Indians having received no injuries from our people, they of consequence can have no cause for revenge upon any of us for past affronts, and also because the New England people being farmers and mechanics, and not hunters, they will not be likely to interfere with the Indian interests as would people of a different character; because from its origin the company set out with the determination to treat the Indians fairly, and are so far from wishing to injure them, that, on the contrary, they feel disposed to guard and protect them against every thing that can be injurious or prejudicial to them. Perhaps these ideas may be thought erroneous by those who are better acquainted with the Indians than I am, but be that as it may, for my own part I most sincerely wish, and shall do every thing in my power, to have the Indians fairly treated—which line of conduct I shall regard as the one most for the interest of the proprietors of the company. I wish the lands may be purchased from them on the principles of bargain and sale, and not wrested from them as a condition of giving them peace, and that an experiment of fair dealing may be tried with these people. I have great hopes from the treaty on foot."

We are here presented with a declaration, on the part of the company's Superintendent, embracing every essential principle as to dealing with the Indians that is found in the ordinance. The presumption is certainly strong that both Agents of the company were acting in concert, the one to secure a proper line of policy from the general government, the other to apply the policy, so far as the company was concerned. A strong motive to pursue this plan with the natives is found in the security which would thus be thrown around their settlement, as also the profit that would arise from the peltry trade with them.

"The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying-places between the same, shall be common highways and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other state that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor." This provision in the Ordinance was a distinct announcement of that line of public policy which has resulted in unrestricted commercial intercourse between all the states of the republic. It had been adopted by a separate resolution, passed May 12, 1786, but was not reported in the Resolutions of April 23, 1784, or in the ordinance reported April 26, 1787. Subsequently, the same general principle took the form, in the Constitution of the United States, of that provision which places the power to "regulate commerce among the several states" in Congress.

The provision in the "Articles of Confederation" was as follows:

"The people of each state shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof, respectively; provided, that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state to any other state of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided, also, that no imposition, duties, or restrictions shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States, or either of them."

Without entering into a discussion of these different provisions relating to the internal commerce of the country, it is quite evident that the framers of the Ordinance of 1787 had the subject in view and regarded it of sufficient importance to receive definite and decisive action. It affords evidence that they looked over the whole ground and gave attention to every principle of public policy that could affect the future welfare of the north-west.

In tracing to its origin this important provision, it will be found that there were at that time two sources from which it was probably derived. One was the Ohio Company of Associates; the other, the statesmen who at that time controlled the policy of Virginia. Evidences of the cordial co-operation of these parties abound in the course of this narrative.

In this matter of free and unrestricted commercial intercourse, these relations were very intimate. The Ohio valley promised to be the "back country," the support to Virginia seaports. To secure the benefits of this inland commerce, she was at the time actually engaged in a system of internal improvements looking to that end. For several years after the first settlement, Alexandria was the entrepot of the valley. That all this was anticipated, both by the projectors of the Ohio Company and their Virginia supporters, will appear from frequent allusion to the subject by both parties.

In his efforts to procure subscribers to the funds of the Ohio Company. Dr. Cutler found it necessary to prepare and circulate a pamphlet [see *Appendix*] descriptive of the new country. Referring to the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, he says: "These two sources of the Ohio are large, navigable streams; the former, flowing from the south-east, leaves but thirty miles portage from the navigable waters of the Potomac, in Virginia; the latter opens a passage from the north-east, and rises not far from the headwaters of the Susquehanna. The State of Pennsylvania has already adopted the plan of opening a navigation from the Allegheny River to the City of Philadelphia through the Susquehanna and the Delaware. In this route there will be a portage of only twenty-four miles."

He speaks of the Muskingum as a "gentle river, . . . navigable by large bateaux and barges to the Three Legs, and by small streams to the lake at its head. From thence, by a portage of about one mile, a communication is opened to Lake Erie through the Cuyahoga." He speaks of the portage at the head of the Scioto, to connect with the Sandusky, as "only four miles."

"The communication between this country and the sea will be principally in the four following directions:

"1. The route through the Scioto and Muskingum to Lake Erie and the Hudson.

"2. The passage up the Ohio and Monongahela to the portage above mentioned, which leads to the navigable waters of the Potomac. This portage is thirty miles, and will probably be rendered much less by the execution of the plans now on foot for opening the navigation of these waters.

"3. The Great Kanawha, which falls into the Ohio from the Virginia shore between the Hockhocking and the Scioto, opens an extensive navigation from the south-east and leaves but eighteen miles portage from the navigable waters of James River, in Virginia."

The fourth channel referred to was the current of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

The only means then in use for prosecuting the internal commerce of the country, which was mainly the peltry trade, was by ascending water-courses as far as the depth of water would allow in lightly-built canoes, then transferring the freight across a divide to a similar stream running in an opposite direction. This accounts for the use of the phrase "carrying-places" in the Ordinance. Dr. Cutler designates them as "portages." It is thus quite evident that he was familiar with this mode of transportation, and the strong probability is that he was careful to secure its absolute freedom in the Ordinance. To his associates it was a matter of great importance.

General Putnam, in his letter to Fisher Ames (see Appendix), alludes to this subject: "And there is not the least doubt but, when the navigation of the Potomack is completed with the carrying-place to the Monongahela, according to the plan of the undertakers, the transport of goods into the western country will be lowered fifty per cent." It will be observed that General Putnam uses the phrase "carrying-place," as connected with "the plan of the undertakers." Under date of March 8, 1785, Colonel Pickering, in a letter to Rufus King, refers to this subject: "Water communication in that country will always be in the highest degree interesting to its inhabitants. It seems very necessary to secure the freedom of navigating the rivers to all the inhabitants of all the states. I hope we shall have no Scheldts in that country."

The foregoing extracts show clearly enough that this idea of free commercial intercourse was cherished by the projectors of the Ohio Company from its earliest inception to its consummation.

It is proper now to notice the attitude of the other parties, who, at that time, were especially interested in the subject.

In a letter to Colonel Humphreys, dated July 25, 1785, General Washington expresses his views as follows: "My attention is more immediately engaged in a project which, I think, big with great political as well as commercial consequences to the states, especially the middle ones; it is, by removing the obstructions and extending the inland navigation of our rivers, to bring the states on the Atlantic in close connection with those forming to the westward, by a short and easy transportation."*

In a letter to Mr. Jefferson, dated January 1, 1788, he discusses "the practicability of opening a communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio."

In a letter, dated January 10, 1788, to Richard Butler, who was acting as agent among the Indians, he requests specific information on the following points:

"1. What is the face of the country between the sources or canoe navigation of the Cuyahoga, which empties itself into Lake Erie and the Big Beaver, and between the Cuyahoga and the Muskingum?

"2. The distance between the waters of the Cuyahoga and each of the two rivers above mentioned?

"3. Would it be practicable, and not very expensive, to cut a canal between the Cuyahoga and either of the above rivers, so as to open a communication between the waters of Lake Erie and the Ohio?

"4. Whether there is any more direct, practicable, and easy communication than these, between the waters of Lake Erie and those of the Ohio, by which the fur and peltry trade of the upper country can be transported?"†

These extracts could be multiplied largely, all showing the very great interest felt by Washington at that time in securing the trade of the west to the seaports of his own state. His letter to Governor Harrison, October 10, 1784, presents a comprehensive view of the whole subject;‡ and his acceptance of the charge of the work of improving the Potomac is evidence of the great personal interest he felt in developing the commercial interests of Virginia. A marked feature in all this is the coincidence of views between those who represented the interests of the Ohio Company and their old Commander-in-Chief, and clearly shows a co-operation of interests that had its full influence in laying the foundations of future prosperity in the Great Valley. In all this, Massachusetts and Virginia worked kindly and efficiently together. There were no personal antagonisms in the way. Local and sectional preferences and jealousies gave way to the attainment of a common object. That object was a grand one, and was shared alike by themselves and all others of the sisterhood of states.

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*Sparks, Vol IX., p. 114.

†Sparks, Vol. IX., p. 303.

‡Sparks, Vol. IX., p. 58.

Another inquiry presents itself in connection with the influence that was exerted by the Ohio Company and its Agent upon those features of the Ordinance of 1787 which asserted and put into active exercise the powers and duties of a nation, as distinguished from "independent and sovereign states."

The "Articles of Confederation," simply organized separate and independent colonies or states into a Confederacy. This Confederacy could exercise only such power as was specially granted to it by the states. This power rested with the "United States in Congress assembled." The power granted and duties imposed referred mainly to the exigencies of the great struggle for Independence. The Confederacy could issue a currency, based upon promises to pay, but had no power to levy and collect taxes as a basis of "public credit."

This poverty of resources drove them very early to cast about for *something* on which to found a "credit." The only object within reach was the vast interior, the real estate embraced in the Territory North-west of the Ohio River.

It is a matter of considerable interest to trace briefly the action of Congress on the subject, which resulted in asserting and exercising the power of a sovereign over this "vacant territory;" and in doing it they went beyond any authority conferred by the Articles of Confederation. It will be found that the first exercise of a sovereign power over that territory was in the sale of a large tract to the Ohio Company, and in the passage of the ordinance for its government, both parts of the same transaction, and controlled by the same influences.

On the 6th of September, 1780, the Committee, to whom were referred the instructions of Maryland to their delegates in Congress and a remonstrance of the General Assembly of Virginia, declines to examine into the claims of Virginia to the "Western Country," but urges "a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims," and reminds them how "indispensably necessary it is to establish the Federal Union on a fixed and permanent basis, and on principles acceptable to all its members; how essential to public credit and confidence, to the support of our own army, to the vigor of our counsels, and to the success of our measures, to our tranquillity at home, our reputation abroad, to our very existence as a free, sovereign, and independent people," that the "impediment arising from the western country" should be removed. Maryland had urged "that Virginia, by selling on the most moderate terms a small proportion of the lands in question, would draw into her treasury vast sums of money; and in proportion to the sums arising from such sales, would be enabled to lessen her taxes." She also asserted the view which, in the end, was accepted: "We are convinced that policy and justice require that a country unsettled at the commencement of the war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the treaty of Paris, if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen states, should be considered a common property, subject to be parceled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct."

On September 8, 1782, a Grand Committee, composed of one from each state, reported the following as one of several propositions: "That it is their opinion that the Western lands, if ceded to the United States, might contribute toward a fund for the paying the debts of these states."

The following was offered by Mr. Witherspoon as a substitute: "That if the several states claiming the exclusive property of the Western lands would make cessions of them to the United States, it would be an important fund for the discharge of the National debt." This change from "debts of these states" to "*national debt,*" indicates an advance toward nationality; and, in connection with the "Western lands," is "*public credit,*" as based on a *common property.*

On the 24th of April, 1783, a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Madison, Ellsworth, and Hamilton, refer to the "national debt," and state their reliance for its extinguishment to be upon "vacant territory."

On the 18th of September, 1783, Mr. Carroll offered a proposition asserting that: "The United States have succeeded to the sovereignty over the western territory, and are thereby vested as one undivided and independent nation with all and every power and right exercised by the King of Great Britain over said Territory." He also asserts that this territory, "if properly managed, will enable the United States to comply with their promises of land to their officers and soldiers; will relieve their citizens from much weight of taxation; will be a means of restoring national credit; and if cast into new states, will tend to increase the happiness of mankind, by rendering the purchase of land easy, and the possession of liberty permanent." This sounds very much like a *Declaration of Nationality*, based upon a sovereign right over a vast domain, to be used for common benefit, and governed as "*one undivided and independent nation.*"

On the 5th of April, 1784, a Grand Committee report: "That Congress still consider vacant territory as a capital resource; and this, too, is the time when our confederacy, with all the territory included within its limits, should assume its ultimate and permanent form."

It would be interesting to know just what was meant by "its ultimate and permanent form." Was this another fingerboard pointing to *nationality*, in connection with *vacant territory?*

The Resolutions for a form of government, reported by Messrs. Jefferson, Howell, and Chase, were adopted April 23, 1784. While they were under discussion, Mr. Read, of South Carolina, offered the following proposition: "That, until such time as the settlers aforesaid shall have adopted the constitution and laws of some one of the original states as aforesaid for a temporary government, the said settlers shall be ruled by magistrates to be appointed by the United States in Congress assembled, and under such laws and regulations as the United States in Congress assembled shall direct." This was a clear and distinct assertion of a sovereign right, on the part of the United States in Congress assembled, to govern the settlers prior to their adoption of a constitution; but it was voted down, Pennsylvania and Maryland alone voting for it. But the following proposition, offered by Mr. Gerry, was adopted: "That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the Confederation, and necessary for the preservation of peace and good order among the settlers in any of the said new states, until they assume a temporary government as aforesaid, may, from time to time, be taken by the United States in Congress assembled." Aside from this modified and partial expression of Congressional sovereignty, the Resolutions of April 23, 1784, placed the exercise of governmental powers in the hands of the settlers, restricted only by the six articles of a compact.

On the 20th of May, 1785, Congress passed "An Ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western Territory." This was dealing with the lands as property. Congress assumed and exercised a right of applying a system of surveys and sales, but the rights of *ownership* were not fully asserted. Deeds were to be made out by the loan officers of the different states as real proprietors. An exception was made to this rule in cases of military claimants not belonging to the line of any state, and of claimants from the hospital department. In those cases, deeds were made out by the Secretary of War. Congress also reserved "one-seventh for the use of the late continental army;" also, "Four lots, 8, 11, 26, and 29, out of each Township, for the United States;" also set apart section sixteen for schools, and reserved "one-third of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines," to be disposed of "as Congress shall direct."

The remaining lands were to be drawn for in the names of the several states in the proportions of their late previous requisitions, and were to be advertised for sale at the Courthouses in every County, and in one newspaper in each state. Payments were to be made to the several loan officers of *the states*, and Deeds were to be made out by them to the purchaser.

By a Resolution of April 21, 1787, it was provided that the lands should be advertised in at least one of the newspapers of each state; the sale to be made "in the place where Congress shall sit;" the purchase-money to be paid "to the Treasurer of the said States;" and "titles to the lands shall be given to the *purchasers* by the board of Treasury."

In all these expressions of congressional policy, there can be traced an approach toward the full exercise of national rights over this "*common property.*" It was evidently a period of transition, during which the ideas and policies of state rights, as they had been cherished in the past, were yielding to the necessities and demands of a *Union* that would give strength, security, and perpetuity to a *Nation*.

The next important action of Congress or expression of opinion upon this important subject is found in the passage of the ordinance of July 13, 1787, and of ordinances subsequently adopted, for the sale of lands to the Ohio Company. In the governmental ordinance, the principles asserted by Mr. Read, in his proposed amendment to the resolution of April 23, 1784, "that the settlers should be ruled by magistrates to be appointed by the United States," and "under such rules and regulations as Congress shall direct," were in effect adopted. The Governor, Secretary, Judges, and Council received their appointments and pay either directly or indirectly from Congress, who also reserved a veto power. The qualifications of Electors are fixed by Congress, and so restricted as to favor the continuance of political power in the hands of permanent residents. A fully organized form of government, with a Bill of Rights, was imposed by the sovereign power upon the vacant territory. The contract for sale of a large tract of the lands to the Ohio Company was made in direct violation of the ordinance of May 20, 1785, although that ordinance was in force at the time and remained so until July 9, 1788. In the sale to the Ohio Company, the system of surveys was retained, but the "state rights" feature was ignored. The Deed or Patent for the whole tract, as well as the contract of purchase, came directly from the United States, and the purchase-money paid to them.

Without claiming that the individual opinions or efforts of the Associates composing the Ohio Company actually brought about this first application of Congressional Sovereignty over the vast interior, it is a reasonable supposition that their influence would be exerted in that direction. So far as the land purchase is concerned, it never would have been made under the provisions of the ordinance of May 20, 1785. The Associates certainly would not have undertaken to deal with thirteen different proprietors, attended auction sales, or accepted alternate townships.

The amount of land required by the Ohio Company, in order to carry out their scheme, was quite equal to the entire area of the Seven Ranges, so that Congress was compelled to assume the control of this "common property," make terms entirely independent of the states, or lose a most favorable opportunity for disposing of its vacant territory. It was just as necessary to yield to the wishes and plans of the "associates" in the governmental system that was to be imposed upon their future homes, as it was to meet their views in regard to land purchase. In both respects, then, was harmony of action, and it was an important advance toward that "time" anticipated by the Grand Committee of April 5, 1784, "when our Confederacy, with all the territory included within its limits, should assume its ultimate and permanent form."

The dream of the officers, as expressed in the Petition of June, 1783, that their "new state westward of the Ohio River might form a part of and be of lasting consequence to the American Empire," was becoming a reality.

It was at this stage of Congressional action that Dr. Cutler indulged in the "sublime contemplation of beholding the whole territory of the United States settled by an enlightened people and continued under one government." The supplementary ordinance of July 9, 1788, brushed away the last remnant of "states' rights" in a common property, by repealing so much of the ordinance of May 20, 1785, as required the lands to "be drawn for in the names of the Thirteen States respectively," and the sales to be made by the loan offices.

A leading motive with Dr. Cutler in demanding a clear assertion of Congressional sovereignty at that time over the western country may be found in the following extract from his journal: "The uneasiness of the Kentucky people with respect to the Mississippi was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union, if a war with Spain took place, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable; and most certainly a systematic settlement of that country, conducted by men strongly attached to the Federal government, and composed of young, robust, hardy, and active laborers, who had no idea of any other than the Federal government, I conceive to be an object worthy of some attention."

This fact of the "uneasiness of the Kentucky people" is clearly stated by General Washington in his correspondence with Governor Harrison and others.

With these views on the part of the Agent of the Associates, it is very clear that, while they had no thought of any other than the Federal Government for themselves, they were not safe unless that government should assert and exercise a rightful sovereignty over a territory that was liable to be disturbed by schemes of secession.

In venturing out into the wilderness, they wanted that question settled in advance, not only by an abstract declaration that the territory should always remain as part of the United States, but by well-defined powers that would be put into immediate exercise. They did not intend to secede, or set up an independent government for themselves, and they were unwilling that others should disturb their peaceful plans by any such attempt.

Another feature of the Ordinance is worthy of notice as connected with Dr. Cutler's negotiations for a large purchase of land. The Ohio Company had no charter, although it was the intention of its originators to procure an Act of Incorporation from one of the states or from Congress. The land purchase was therefore a *private contract*. The following provisions in the Ordinance may be regarded as a full equivalent for a public charter: "And in the just preservation of rights and property it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made or have force in said territory that shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements *bona fide* and without fraud previously formed."

That Dr. Cutler regarded his land purchase as a *private contract* is very evident from an entry in his Journal, October

26, 1787, when he paid out over $500,000 to the Board of Treasury. He says it was "the greatest *private contract* ever made in America."

This provision was not only important to the Ohio Company in their relations to Government, but they were entering upon an extensive system of disposing of real estate belonging to individual share-holders through agencies. This double process of transmitting title suggested the necessity of a positive protection coming from a sovereign power, not leaving it to the uncertainties of local legislation. The following is an extract from a letter written by R. H. Lee to Washington, under date of July 15, 1787, two days after the passage of the Ordinance, and consequently at a time when the whole subject was fresh in his mind. He says: "I have the honor to enclose to you an Ordinance that we have just passed in Congress, for establishing a temporary government beyond the Ohio, as a measure preparatory to the sale of lands. It seemed necessary for the security of property among uninformed and perhaps licentious people, as the greater part of those who go there are, that a strong-toned government should exist and the rights of property be clearly defined." (Dr. Loring's Address, April 7, 1888.)

R. H. Lee was Dr. Cutler's friend and most intimate adviser, who promised him "an hour's speech." He undoubtedly reflected the prevailing feeling in Congress, and it is quite evident that a "*strong-toned*" government was intended to be formed by the passage of the Ordinance. It is also evident that this *strong-toned government* was organized "*as a measure preparatory to the sale of lands.*" He says, "*and the rights of property be clearly defined.*" This suited Dr. Cutler's wants, and not only made up for the lack of a public charter, but was a protection to the Associates in their manner of distributing lands among share-holders. It was to them a "*just preservation of rights and property.*"

Looking over the situation as presented at that time, and giving proper weight to motives of greatest urgency, it may be fairly claimed that principles of Congressional or National Sovereignty, as well as a careful enumeration of rights in their broadest application, including full and even exceptional guaranties to the "*rights of property*," were incorporated into the organic law at the instance of an Agent who was the guardian and conservator of the interests, not only of a living constituency, but of a waiting posterity.

It is not intended, by this effort to trace out Dr. Cutler's connection with some of the leading ideas of the Ordinance, to detract from the services of the wise and able men who had the subject in charge as legislators. The records are too meager to afford full evidence of the participation of individual members of Congress. Light from outside sources must be sought. Grayson, in his letter to Pickering, says that "forty volumes" would not contain the discussion upon the land system. These discussions doubtless extended to the plans for government as well as surveying.

After Dr. Cutler's arrival in New York, all previous labors in the way of a form of government for the territory seem to have been brushed aside, a new system presented, then new-modeled, his own ideas incorporated, and finally passed unanimously. The scheme of settlement itself was a broad and comprehensive one, covering the whole ground of a permanent occupation of that distant wilderness in the interests of a Christian civilization, of republican institutions founded upon the rights of man and supported by every civil and political safeguard.

Up to the time of Dr. Cutler's arrival in New York, the labors of Congress had brought forth abstractions and skeletons, mere outlines. It is not improbable that the presentation of a scheme of settlement, such as had "never before been attempted in America," aroused the zeal and stimulated the efforts of Congress in a more practical direction, and led to the adoption of acceptable lines of policy in organizing the "new state" that had been so long the dream of an army by whose valor and sacrifices the territory had been acquired. That the organic law should have been new-modeled, and made acceptable to the men who were ready to occupy and cultivate that distant territory, is not surprising.

It may be claimed for the Ordinance itself, that it is the only instance in human history (with a single exception) where the laws and constitutions have been prepared beforehand, pre-arranged, and projected into a territory prior to its occupation by its future inhabitants. The Divine economy did so arrange, pre-ordain, and publish to His chosen people the law, ordinance, and polity that was to govern them after they had entered their promised land; but, throughout the many changes, migrations, and conquests under which the human race has spread itself over and occupied the earth, either the will of the conqueror after conquest and occupation, or the growth of governmental principles subsequently, has been the origin of political and civil institutions. Here, however, is an attempt to prepare beforehand forms of government, laws, and principles upon bases that were intended to remain forever unalterable. We now have a century to attest their intrinsic value. Not the least valuable part of this wise forecast and preparation was that provision reaching down to the virgin soil, that gave absolute ownership of it in convenient quantities and on terms that secured to each person an opportunity to acquire a homestead of his own, with provision for those civil divisions, townships, where the "essence of ownership," control, could be exerted politically in all the important social and civil affairs of life.

Upon this foundation, guaranties of human rights, in their broadest application, with equality before the law, were introduced into the governmental structure. In addition to these elements of future stability, the educational and moral forces are distinctly recognized and incorporated into the foundations. Freedom of worship, without governmental control, direction, or patronage; liberty, religion, morality, and knowledge—all stand side by side with the right of jury trial, *habeas corpus*, inviolability of private contracts, and all other usual and essential safeguards. They were not inserted as vague and abstract declarations, but the obligation was imposed to give them support and encouragement.

The following general conclusions may fairly be drawn from the foregoing statement of the situation as connected with the formation of the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, "for the government of the United States north-west of the river Ohio?"

1. The officers of the army who originated the scheme for

the permanent occupation of the Ohio valley had distinctly in view from its inception the idea of a "new state."

2. They entertained very positive views in regard to the organic principles upon which their "intended government" should be founded.

3. The total prohibition of slavery and encouragement to education were considered as essential.

4. They organized the "Ohio Company of Associates" for the purpose of carrying into effect these long cherished objects connected with future homes.

5. They placed their application for the purchase of lands in the hands of an Agent who was thoroughly acquainted with the prevailing views of his constituents, with unrestricted authority to act in his negotiations with Congress for their best interests.

6. The personal views of the Agent were in harmony with those of the men he undertook to represent.

7. He kept steadily in view the two great objects of his mission; one was to procure lands upon terms that would be acceptable to the Associates; the other, to secure such organic law as would make the new state a congenial home for himself and his neighbors.

8. In prosecuting his mission before Congress, he met with a cordial co-operation from the Virginia members, who could fairly anticipate from the enterprise of the Ohio Company substantial advantages in the way of protection to an exposed western frontier, and great commercial advantages from a body of men who were so well prepared to cultivate and develop the resources of the Ohio valley.

9. This friendly feeling extended to "members from the southward," and became the occasion for a quiet relinquishment of any desire they may have had for the extension of the institution of slavery over the north-west.

10. In securing a recognition of moral and educational forces, good faith toward the Indians, the inviolability of private contracts, and free commercial intercourse between all parts of a common country, he not only consulted his own personal wishes, but completed his task to the entire approval of his associates.

In view of these foundations thus laid in the beginning, the citizen of to-day has a right to all the benefits that come from the proper application of these principles. He has a right to expect and demand a full recognition and defense of his personal rights; he has also a right to expect and demand the benefits resulting from restraints upon all immoralities, as also the benefits which flow from the encouragement and support of education.

All comers had notice that the organic law of the northwest was intended to be the basis of a Christian civilization. Religion, morality, and knowledge, as well as personal rights, are a magnificent inheritance, belonging lawfully to posterity, and every adverse influence is an invasion of their rights.

[*Hon. Nathan Dane to Hon. Rufus King.**]

NEW YORK, *July* 16, 1787.

Dear Sir:—I am obliged to you for yours of the 11th inst. With pleasure I communicate to you what we are doing in Congress, not so much from a consciousness that what we do is well done, as from a desire that you may be acquainted with our proceedings. We have been much engaged in business for ten or twelve days past, for a part of which we have had 8 states. There appears to be a disposition to do business; and the arrival of R. H. Lee is of considerable importance. I think his character serves, at least in some degree, to check the effects of the feeble habits and too [tardy?] modes of thinking in some of his countrymen. We have been employed about several objects—the principal ones of which have been the Government inclosed, and the Ohio Purchase. The former you will see is completed, and the latter will be probably completed to-morrow. We tried one day to patch up M. S. P. systems of W. Govern't. Started new ideas, and committed the whole to Carrington, Dane, R. H. Lee, Smith, and Kean. We met several times, and at last agreed on some principles, at least Lee, Smith, and myself. We found ourselves rather pressed; the Ohio Company appeared to purchase a large tract of the Federal lands—about 6 or 7 millions of acres; and we wanted to abolish the old system, and get a better one for the Government of the country—and we finally found it necessary to adopt the best system we could get. All agreed, finally, to the inclosed, except A. Yates. He appeared in this case, as in most others, not to understand the subject at all. I think the number of free inhabitants, 60,000, which are requisite for the admission of a new State into the Confederacy, is too small; but, having divided the whole territory into three States, this number appeared to me to be less important. Each State, in the common course of things, must become important soon after it shall have that number of inhabitants. The Eastern State of the three will probably be the first, and more important than the rest, and will, no doubt, be settled chiefly by Eastern people; and there is, I think, full an equal chance of its adopting Eastern politics. When I drew the Ordinance, which passed (a few words excepted) as I originally formed it, I had no idea the States would agree to the sixth art. prohibiting slavery, as only Massa. of the Eastern States was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft; but, finding the House favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other parts, I moved the art., which was agreed to without opposition. We are in a fair way to fix the terms of our Ohio sale, etc.; we have been upon it steadily three days. The magnitude of the purchase makes us very cautious about the terms of it, and the security necessary to insure the performance of them.

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* From *New York Tribune.*

We have directed the Board to inquire into and report on Hother's affairs, etc.

Massa. Legisa. was prorogued the 7th inst., having continued the Tender Act, as it is called, to Jan. 1, 1788, and having passed no other Act of importance, except what, I presume, you have seen, respecting the raising of troops, and the powers of the Governor to pursue the rebels, etc.

You ask me how I like my new colleagues. Sedgwick, you know, we all esteem, but I fear he will not make his attendance an object. Thatcher I am quite unacquainted with. I do not know whether Mr. Otis, at his period of life, and under his misfortune, will enter with vigor into Federal politics. I wish his accounts with the Union had been settled, etc.

Nothing occurs worth particular notice.

Your affecta. friend,

HON. RUFUS KING, ESQ. N. DANE.

P. S.—States present: Massa., N. Y., N. J., Delaware, Virga., N. Cara., So. Carolina, and Georgia. Brother Holton is rather an invalid, is not well able to take an active part in business, but I think supports pretty good eastern politics.

CHAPTER IX.

LETTERS—DIARY OF 1788—LETTER FROM GENERAL PARSONS TO DR. CUTLER—JOURNEY TO THE MUSKINGUM—REV. DANIEL STORY—LETTERS.

[*Dr. Cutler to General Putnam, Rutland.*]

IPSWICH, *December* 3, 1787.

Dear Sir:—There are two men gone from us into the Western Country, Ebenezer Porter and Nathaniel Sawyer, who have subscribed each for one share in our Company. Porter has paid his silver money part, and has made provision for the payment of the securities here. Sawyer has not yet paid any part; but both of them wished, if they found it in their power, to turn in provisions, or such other articles as might be wanted by our Company in that Country, in payment toward their shares. I suppose they are either at Hannah's Town or Well's Mills, and will make application to you as soon as they are informed of your being in the country. I wish they may be permitted to do whatever may lie in their power toward making payment in that country consistent with the interests of the Company. They will make, I presume, good inhabitants; and the service they have rendered to our cause, by going early into the country, returning, and removing their families, entitles them to as much attention and lenity as can be consistently given them.

When you go to New York I beg you will not fail of mentioning to Colonel Platt the establishment of a channel for conveying letters backward and forward from that country to this. It will greatly oblige the people going into the country, and their friends here. And should their accounts of the country be favorable, it will facilitate the collection of the remainder of the money, and the obtaining of settlers. The mode I should suppose best, would be to engage some one person in Philadelphia, who would be careful to forward the packets to Colonel Platt, as early as may be, free of postage.

Colonel Platt to put them on board the Providence Packets addressed to the care of Major Corliss, in Providence; Major Corliss to forward them to Boston, to the care of Colonel May,* or some person toward the South-end—perhaps to Barrill's, near the Common, where the western stages, and some of the eastern, put up. Opportunities to send from New York to Providence are frequent. Letters may be sent from Providence nearly every day in the week; and, if properly lodged in Boston, may be sent immediately eastward or westward. And with the same ease they may be sent to the Ohio Company. I should think it most eligible that the letters, in general, should not be sent single, but in packets, and somewhat periodically; say, a packet to be closed with you on a certain day, once in a fortnight, or once a month, and then embrace the first opportunity for forwarding it to Philadelphia. In Boston a packet may be made up and forwarded in the same manner.

It may possibly be necessary to establish one of this kind of Post Offices at Fort Pitt. If we can engage persons in these several places, who are interested in our Company, they will probably pay greater attention to the matter, and we shall avail ourselves of a ready mode of conveyance free of expense. Should you approve of this plan, and will make the establishment at the southward, I will take care to engage Major Corliss, and some person in Boston. Should you forward letters from that country before you hear further from this quarter, let them be inclosed, if you please, to Colonel May, or to any other person in Boston you may think proper. Our letters will be addressed to you, and when the matter is settled in Boston we will inform you.

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* Colonel John May was born in Pomfret, Conn., 1743. He came to Boston when but a lad, and served an apprenticeship with his uncle, Colonel Ephraim May. In 1773 he married Abigail May, his cousin. In 1778 he was commissioned Captain in "the Boston Regiment of Militia," and was promoted through the different grades to Colonel. As Major of the regiment, he was in service in Rhode Island during the Revolution, and won the commendation of his superiors. He took an active interest in the Ohio Company as an Agent, and procured a number of subscibers to its shares. He came to Ohio in 1788, and again in 1789. His journal of these visits (with a biographical sketch, where the facts here given were obtained) was published by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio in 1873. Colonel May died in Boston, in 1812.

Saying so much about conveying letters reminds me of the necessity of a name for the place where you will reside. I doubt not you will early inquire the meaning of Muskingum, or you may meet with some other name that will be agreeable. At present, I must confess I feel a partiality for the name proposed at Boston, and think it preferable to any that has yet been mentioned. I think that Adelphia will, upon the whole, be the most eligible. It strictly means *brethren*, and I wish it may ever be characteristic of the Ohio Company.

Shares in our Company are now in higher demand this way than at any time before. I have disposed of all assigned to me. Some few will fail, but there are others ready to take them. I have taken up Major White's, and have delivered him one hundred and ten dollars more in silver, which he has receipted to me as received on the account of the Ohio Company, and promised to deliver the same to you. I hope to obtain more silver money before you go to the westward, and shall, if possible, forward it to you; if not, shall embrace the first opportunity to send it to Colonel Platt. The matter of fixing a regular mode for the passing of letters appears to me of so much importance, that I wish to be favored with a line from you on the subject, if you have time, before you go into the country.

Wishing you an agreeable tour, and success in your business, I am, dear sir,

Your most affectionate friend and humble serv't,

M. Cutler.

My son is gone on in the Company, and I beg you will be so kind as to pay some attention to him, and give him such counsel and advice as you would your own. I feel a satisfaction in the reflection that he is under your care.

[*General Putnam to Dr. Cutler.*]

Adelphia, *May* 16, 1788.

My Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 20th of February came to hand a few days since, and I find by its contents that Mr. Plummer has alarmed the people with respect to the Indians very much, and perhaps he is not to blame; for had I given heed to the opinion, at least the pretended opinion, of people at Pittsburgh and vicinity, I certainly should not have come down without an army for my protection. However, we made no delay on that account. That the Indians are dissatisfied, on account of Congress or the Commissioners of Congress (at the several treaties which have been holden with them) considering these lands as the property of the United States, in consequence of the part the Indians took in the war and the treaty of peace with Great Britain, is true. They have told Congress so in a spirited, manly letter addressed to that honorable body by Joseph Brant, in which he assures them that unless these wrongs are redressed, and the lands fairly purchased, the Indians will certainly go to war (and I believe they will be as good as their word). In consequence of this application of Brant, Congress has promised them a treaty, which was to have been holden about this time; but I am told that the Indians have informed Governor St. Clair that they are to hold a great Council among themselves about the middle of June, near Sandusky. From these circumstances, it is probable Governor St. Clair will not be able to see them till July, when I have no doubt every thing will be settled to general satisfaction. At present, we do not think ourselves perfectly secure from them, on account of a few lawless bandits, made up of Mingos, Shawnies, and Cherokees, who reside at present on the waters of the Scioto. These are a set of thievish, murdering rascals; but from any other quarter we are under no apprehension at present. The Delawares and Wyandots visit us almost every day, and appear very friendly; relying on it, as I believe, that Governor St. Clair, at the treaty, will have power and inclination to do them complete justice.

You wish to be informed if it will be prudent for families to move on in the spring and summer? I answer, by all means; for let the treaty end how it may, the sooner they come on the better; the sooner they get in a way of cultivating their lands and raising provisions, the better. The constant coming in of new settlers, and the troops which will be kept in the country by Congress, will give us a good market for many years; and these little skulking parties of Indians, if they are never won to be our friends, can never do us any considerable injury. On the other hand, should there be a general Indian war, this will be a place of general rendezvous for an army. So that, in all human probability, the settlement can never fail of the protection of Government.

It will be inquired, I presume, why we laid out some of the 8 acre lots so far from the City plat? To which I answer, 4,000 acres for City and commons take up a large tract of land. In Township No. 2, and 8th Range, the lots No. 8, 16, and 29 are public lots, which otherwise would have been laid out into 8 acre lots. Again, it was the original design to have them as nearly equal as possible in quality and situation, and so situated that the produce might, in case of necessity, be brought to the City. This, I conceive, may better be done ten miles by water than two by land, where the country is more than commonly hilly (which is ever the case near large rivers) and roads to make.

But you, perhaps, will inquire why all the margins of the River Ohio and Muskingum are not taken up so far as we extend these lots on either of them? Answer: They are so where there is any considerable body of Interval or Second Bottom bordering on them. In some places, the hill shuts down to the river bank; in others, the Bottom is narrow and ought to be laid out with the adjoining hill Country. But another circumstance, attended to, will perhaps satisfy you and every other person. It will be only on extraordinary occasions, and which I hope will never happen, that it will be necessary to bring the produce of any lots that lie remote to the City of Adelphia. Nothing but a general war, and a war in which we must be very unfortunate, can prevent the following settlements being established in the course of one year, which are so situated in point of distance, and suitable grounds for building and other purposes, as will undoubtedly recommend them to their present owners, or others, to erect houses on immediately, which it will be prudent to stockade for a few years. These situations are as follows, viz: Township 2 and 8th Range, lot No. 9, on Little Muskingum; Lots 13 and 14, 2d Township and 9th Range, down the Ohio; Lot

3, in the 3d Township, 9th Range, up the Muskingum; Lot 13, in the 4th Township, 9th Range, still further up the Muskingum. The three last of these will, beyond doubt, grow into consequence as farming towns, and the other a very considerable village.

It would give you pain, and me no pleasure, to detail our march over the mountains, or our delays afterward on account of bad weather, or other misfortunes. I shall only observe that I arrived at Major White's party on the Youghiogheny River the 14th of February. No boats built, boards or planks in readiness, or person capable of building a canoe, much less a boat among the party. Mill frozen up, and no boards to be had; he had, however, three canoes, such as they were, on the stocks, and five of his men sick with the small-pox, which they took by inoculation.

On the first day of April, in the afternoon, we left the Youghiogheny, and arrived at Fort Harmar on the seventh, being obliged to stop at Harmon and Buffalo Creek on our way, to take in provisions, etc. Our whole fleet consisted of the Union galley of 45 tons burden, designed to pass and repass between this and Buffalo, or Short Creek, to bring down settlers; the Adelphia Ferry-boat, burden, 3 tons, for the use of the settlers at the Post; and three log canoes of different sizes.

On our arrival here, the surveys commenced immediately, but a series of rains, and being obliged to survey so much more land than was expected, in order to obtain lands suitable to our purpose, prevented our completing our Plans till yesterday. The City lots will be ready to draw by the first Wednesday of July, as proposed at the meeting in Providence, but the others will not. It was General Knox's advice that I shall not presume to survey more till after the Treaty.

The men have most of them been employed these ten days in clearing land for themselves, which they will plant next week, and the rest are doing the same for the Company. Several proprietors have come on this spring, and are doing the same. They all work on the City-plat, and the whole quantity of corn planted, I expect, will be about 100 acres. As soon as this work is over, we shall turn our attention to building houses and boats suitable to prosecute the surveys with.

As to the mode of conveying letters, I have hit on none yet, to convey from this place to Philadelphia, or from thence to this place, that could be depended upon. Perhaps we may find out some way in the course of the summer.

The expense has risen much beyond our calculation, and if the Treaty concludes favorably, the surveys must no doubt be pushed till late in the fall; of consequence, more money will be wanted. But I expect Generals Parsons and Varnum will be on soon; will therefore not propose any thing at present on that subject.

The men are generally in good health, and I believe much pleased with the country; that I am so myself, you may rest assured.

The accounts of Moulton and others I will attend to. The winter in this quarter was severe indeed, the most so known for many years. But I can only add, the situation of the City-plat is the most delightful of any I ever saw, and those traces of ancient walls, mounds, etc., are truly surprising. Mr. Sargent's painting gives but a faint idea of what is to be seen on the spot.

I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble servant,

RUFUS PUTNAM.

[*Dr. Cutler to Colonel Richard Platt, Treasurer of the Ohio Company.*]

IPSWICH, *February* 20, 1788.

My Dear Sir:—Major Sargent will hand you the letters of Attorney you requested from the persons under my Agency, and I should have forwarded, by the same opportunity, small sums in securities and silver which I have collected, but Major Sargent advises me to make a larger collection before forwarding them to you, and assures me Colonel Duer has received the securities he advanced in the first payment.

Continental Securities have been falling in Boston since my last return from New York, and it was presumed adventurers who have not paid for their shares would purchase them at 2*s*. 6*d*. To prevent their rising, it has been proposed that individual adventurers should not apply to the *Brokers*, but deposit their hard money in the hands of one man only, who should get them on the best terms in his power. A considerable sum has been put into my hands, but the ratification of the *Federal Constitution* has given them a sudden start, and raised them to 3*s.* 6*d.*, altho' there are very few purchasers, and those principally who wish to keep them until they rise to *par*.

This sudden rise of securities very materially affects many of our most valuable adventurers, men who intend immediately to go into the Country with their families, are possessed of small property, and will be just able to get themselves into the country, after paying for their lands, but men that are of the greatest consequence to every other description of adventurers, as it depends on them to cultivate the Country and render it valuable.

On account of this class of settlers, I wish you to inform me at what price you will procure securities to the amount of 20, 30, or perhaps 40 shares. If it should be agreeable to you to procure securities, and the price be agreeable to adventurers here, it would be most convenient to forward a *Bill* on some gentlemen in New York, as we may not have, instantly, an opportunity of sending the hard money. Mr. Thos. Russell will draw, payable on sight, or ten days. Wish you to name some gentleman on whom you can depend, and who is connected in trade, or acquainted with Mr. Russell, if there be any such within your knowledge. I likewise wish to be favored with your opinion on the probability of securities rising above the present exchange.

Adventurers who have paid for shares are exceedingly *pressing* for the *Indents*, which are to be returned to them. Pray inform me when they may be expected.

The sickness of Mr. Flint I conceive to be extremely unfortunate. Mr. Barlow is the only man, within my knowledge, that can be obtained, to whom I should feel myself willing to intrust our business, and have much regretted that he has not been appointed. He seems to be preferred to any other man by Flint, who offers to compensate him until he shall be able to go to Europe and take the business into his own hands.

When Indents are sent on, I shall want each person's account from your books, under my Agency, in order to make a proper settlement, for I have not by me an accurate account of the moneys paid in by individuals. Such an account from you will give perfect satisfaction to every adventurer.

Give me leave to congratulate you on the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the Massachusetts. We hope New York will not be obstinate; but with us her adoption of it is more problematical than even that of Rhode Island. Please to present my compliments to your Mother and Sister, with whom I had the pleasure of traveling in the stage, on my return from New York.

I am with high esteem, dear sir,

Your most humble servant,

COL. PLATT. M. CUTLER.

[*Nathan Dane to Dr. Cutler.*]

NEW YORK, *April* 6, 1788.

My Dear Sir:—I received yours of the 18th ult. I shall readily pay every attention to the subject you mention in my power.

Nothing particular has taken place since I wrote you last. We have had no late information of any considerable importance from the Indians. It is rather uncertain as yet how the elections for the State Convention have gone in Virginia, and no conjectures can well be formed how they will be in this State.

I see by the papers that the British Ministry have demanded the abolition of the works at Cherbourg. This newspaper information is all I have heard or seen respecting the affair, but if such a demand has been made, I think it must be passed by in silence by the French Court, or that Court must refuse to comply with it. The probable consequence, in my mind, is war. I inclose you a letter from Major Sargent.

With sentiments of esteem and friendship,

I am, dear sir, your obed't servant,

DOCTOR M. CUTLER. N. DANE.

[*Dr. Cutler to General Henry Knox, Secretary of War.*]

IPSWICH, *May* 3, 1788.

. . . Not being able to obtain the several Ordinances of Congress relating to army lands, I am in doubt whether certain descriptions of the army are entitled to lands. Is the Invalid Regiment entitled to lands? Particularly those discharged on a pension previous to the general discharge at the close of the war? Are the heirs of those who were wounded in battle and died of their wounds in the hospitals? Or those who died while they were prisoners? Or of sickness in the hospitals? Will a certificate from the Selectmen of a town, certifying who are the heirs of a soldier slain in battle, be admitted as sufficient evidence in the War Office or Board of Treasury? I conceive a certificate from the Judge of Probate might be the most proper, but the property of soldiers was generally so small that their friends avoided the expenses of letters of administration, and application to the Judge for such certificates may subject them to more expense than the value of the lands.

The spirit of emigration to the western country is daily increasing in the New England States. We shall certainly have more than one thousand families at the Muskingum the present year, unless the natives should be so uncivil as to interrupt those already on the ground. Pray, what are your latest accounts from that quarter? Will all the tribes that have relinquished their claims to the lands we have purchased be summoned to attend the treaty on the Muskingum?

I am happy in being able to assure you that anti-federalism is daily becoming more unpopular in this part of the Commonwealth. The leaders are silent, or have changed sides, and the common people are almost unanimously in favor of the New Government, and wish that it should be carried into effect. We are anxious to obtain authentic intelligence of the prospects in Virginia and New York.

I have taken the liberty to inclose a letter to our worthy friends, Duer and Platt, which I beg you to excuse. Please to present my most respectful compliments to your lady.

I am, with the highest esteem and respect,
Sir, your most obedient and humble servant.
GENERAL KNOX. M. CUTLER.

Thurs., Jan. 17, 1788. Mr. Haraden and I went to Salem to get the dimensions of wagons for the western country.

Mon., Jan. 28. Went into the woods with a team and carried a white ash log to the mill for felloes for wagon wheels, and brought home timber for the body.

Thurs. Feb. 7. Sent to every man in the parish an invitation to assist me in hauling wood. Constitution adopted by Massachusetts.

Fri., Feb. 8. Hauled wood from over the Pond. Mr. Plummer here from Pittsburgh in 19 days. Accounts of the arrival of Major White and my son.

Thurs., Feb. 14. Went into Boston; dined at Mr. Hichborn's and lodged with him. Spent the evening at Mr. Belknap's.

Fri., Feb. 15. Came out of Boston at 6 o'clock P. M. Went to Cambridge and lodged at President Willard's.

Sat., Mar. 1. Preparing for a journey to Providence. Mr. Harris, from Newbury, here.

Mon., Mar. 3. Set out for Boston; extremely cold. Dined in Boston and went on to Dedham.

Tues., Mar. 4. Went to Providence in my chaise to attend a meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company. Mr. Harris in a sulky. Arrived at Providence about sunset, and lodged at Mr. Hitchcock's.

Wed., Mar. 5. A meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company at Rice's Tavern. Made returns of shares and prepared to draw next morning. Dined with the company at Rice's.

Thurs, Mar. 6. The Directors and Agents drew for the the eight-acre lots. Began to draw at 9 in the morning, in the Council Chamber in the Court House—open doors—and a great number of people attended. Dined at Mr. John Brown's; a most superb entertainment. Completed our draught between nine and ten at night, and were happy to find there was no mistake.

Fri., Mar. 7. Directors and Agents held a meeting and closed their business about nine in the evening. Dined with a large number of the Directors and Agents at Mr. Welcome Arnold's.

Sat., Mar. 8. A meeting of the Directors in the forenoon. Adjourned the meeting of the Directors and Agents to the Muskingum on the Ohio. Came out of Providence half-past one, and rode to Dedham in company with Mr. Harris. Lodged at Mr. Chickering's.

Lord's Day, Mar. 9. Preached for Mr. Chickering.

Mar. 25–28. Attended Council at Topsfield. Lodged at Dr. Cleaveland's.

Sat., Mar. 29. Council dissolved. Advised Mr. Breck to ask a dismission.

Tues., Apr. 1. At home. Mr. Story and wife, Mr. Prince, and Mr. Grafton dined with us.

Mon., Apr. 21; *Sat., Apr.* 26. Time much taken up with Ohio people.

Sat., May 3. Received a lengthy and very complaisant letter from Dr. Stokes, and also the two first volumes of his Botanical Arrangements.

Tues., May 13. The Association met here. Messrs. Swain, Forbes, Payson, Holt, Parsons, Wadsworth, McKean, Story, Hubbard, Bently, and other gentlemen. Mr. Payson preached.

Thurs., May 22. Went to Salem. Found a new genus of plants in the woodland.

Lord's Day, May 25. Exchanged with Mr. Wadsworth; drank tea at Judge Holton's.

Tues., May 27. Went to Boston. Attended the meeting of the Academy at the Hall of the Bank. Dined at Mr. Bowdoin's.

Wed., May 28. Election. Dined at Mr. Russell's. Went out to Dorchester with Mr. Everett and Mr. Chickering.

Thurs., May 29. Dined at Brother Belknap's.

Tues., June 3. Attended the meeting of the Proprietors of the Philosophical Library at Salem. Dined at Mr. Prince's.

Sent on a bill to Philadelphia of 300 dollars. Brother Dean came.

Lord's Day, June 15. Exchanged with Mr. Hubbard, of Marblehead. Went in the morning and returned at night. Drank tea at Mr. Prince's.

Thurs., June 19. Mr. Prince and I went to Boston together in my chaise. We dined in Boston and spent the evening at Mr. Clarke's with Mr. Belknap.

Fri., June 20. Purchased a sulky in order to go to the western country. Sent a letter to Mr. Barlow, in London or France. Spent the evening at Mr. Belknap's.

June 27–28. Overhauling my sulky and painting it.

Tues., July 1. Making a traveling trunk for the western country.

Fri., July 4. Anniversary of American Independence. Went to Salem. Cadet and artillery companies turned out and made a very pretty appearance. This evening received the very agreeable intelligence of Virginia's adopting the Constitution.

Wed., July 9. Attended the funeral of Mrs. Brown, of Beverly.

Mon., July 14. Preparing for my journey westward.

Wed., July 16. Commencement at Cambridge. Set out in the morning, arrived at eleven o'clock, dined in the Hall.

Thurs., July 17. Spent the day in Boston. Went over to Cambridge at night and lodged at Steadman's.

Fri., July 18. Willard Peale examined and accepted. Dined at the President's, and came home.

Sat., July 19. Preparing for my journey.

Lord's Day, July 20. I preached at Mr. Swain's. Mr. Swain at Topsfield, and Mr. Story here. Informed the people of my intention to set out on my journey. Relinquished my salary, and they to supply the pulpit.

Monday, July 21. Set out for the Ohio country.

From Rev. Dr. S. Deane.

PORTLAND, *May* 19, 1788.

Dear Sir:—Your determination on a southern adventure much afflicts me. Why must you remove to so awful a distance? You will mar my plan of growing in natural philosophy, as I glide into the evening of life. I would sacrifice much to get you nearer to me. But as for your Garden of Eden, the fruit there looks too much like forbidden. But I sincerely wish you the blessing of heaven in all your undertakings.

Mr. Hubbard handed me your letter this morning, dated May 7th. I thank you for the friendship, generosity, and information contained in it. The Committee of Agriculture are somewhat awakened with respect to my affair, as you may see in the Massachusetts Gazette, and Sentinel, where they renew their recommendation of the N. E. Farmer, and request the subscription papers by the 1st of June, so that what you do must be done speedily. Your attention will much oblige me. If there should not be 700 subscriptions, I suppose I shall be forced to make up the number myself, which was no part of my first design, but I should hate the mortification of an abortion. The Committee's re-recommendation did not appear in Adams and Nourse, who I supposed were printers to the Committee; an omission I know not how to account for. We shall publish it here this week. I am afraid too short a day is appointed for bringing in the papers. If you should be at Boston, I hope you will be so good as to advise with some of the Committee about it, and induce them to lengthen the time, if there is any reason to fear the papers have not yet circulated sufficiently.

I have lately applied Goland's Extract of Lead to the eschar of my wart, which has taken out the inflammation almost entirely, but the pain in my hip, pronounced to be sciatica, yields to no remedies. This, however, thank heaven, is more tolerable than it has been, and I am in better bodily condition for journeying than when you saw me, but other things will prevent me, I believe, till near autumn. If I can find you in the body I will then see you.

My *paupertas* makes me dispair of equipping myself thoroughly for meteorological observations. I have improved my chapter on *Barn Yard* or Farm-yard, with the ideas you gave me of one in the Jerseys, which ideas, though not wholly new to me, I had shamefully disregarded.

I will be inquisitive concerning the medical and economical uses of indigenous plants, as far as my hurry will permit me.

You might have informed the world that the bark of the *basswood* will serve all the purposes of hemp. It is stronger than the rind of elm. No tree is more common in this part of the country. I have had chairs bottomed with the rind, which will slip finely in June. The longitudinal fibers must have their cohesion destroyed by boiling in a weak lye of wood ashes. I have had strong ropes and strings made of it. The aboriginals make their belts of this bark, as I have been informed, some of which are pliant as flaxen ones would be.

I mean to send this hasty scrawl by Mr. Nath'l Fosdick, a son of Harvard, naval officer P. T. for our port, and request him to call as he returns, that I may hear further from you.

I am, dear sir, affectionately yours,

REV. MR. CUTLER. S. DEANE.*

[*General Parsons to Dr. Cutler.*]

MUSKINGUM, 16*th July*, 1788.

Dear Sir:—I received your kind letter of the 21st April this morning, on the arrival of Mr. Rogers and others. We shall be happy to receive you in our Settlement as soon as you can make it convenient; indeed it is necessary you should be here as early as possible. Some different arrangements in the surveys must take place, I believe, and it will be proper that as large a representation of the Proprietors should be present when any material alterations of the former system are made.

The beauty of situation, fertility of soil, and goodness of climate are equal to our most sanguine expectations; industry and perseverance will soon place us in very easy circumstances. Our principal obstruction to settlement arises from unfounded Reports of Danger, fabricated and industriously spread to alarm the fears of people. More than One Hundred have halted in Westmoreland and Washington Counties, and several have returned Home, occasioned by Reports, in almost every instance, wholly void of Truth.

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* Rev. Samuel Deane, D.D. (Brown University, 1790). Poet. Pastor at Falmouth (now Portland, Me.), from October 17, 1764, to his death, November 12, 1814. Born at Dedham, Mass., July 30, 1733. Graduate Harvard University, 1760. Librarian and tutor. He received one of the six prizes offered by the college for compositions on the death of George II. and the accession of George III., printed in 1761. He published his Georgical Dictionary, or New England Farmer, in 1790; and a poem, "Pitchwood Hill."—*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

We have suffered no insults from the Indians, but they are with us almost every week, and profess a great Friendship for the *Yankees*, who they distinguish from the settlers on the Virginia shore; yet they have no government but that of Influence from advice of their Chiefs. We can not be sure no partial injuries will be attempted by the ungoverned part of the Tribes; we have therefore hitherto kept ourselves in a State of Defense, so that no attempt can be made but where the whole Body of the Inhabitants may be brought to repel the Enemy within an hour. Our working parties are enjoined to take their Arms into the field, and a small patrol is every day without them. This service is done in rotation, and will be continued as a cautionary measure, tho' I have little Reason to suspect any attack will ever be made. The Indians themselves remark in their Towns that we settle compactly, and not in the scattered manner in which the Frontiers have been generally settled, and no attempt can be made without meeting the whole force in the Settlement, as well as the soldiers of the Garrison. If we continue to exercise a prudent Caution, I believe we are in very little Danger.

An unlucky event has retarded the Treaty. A few days since, a small party of the Ottawa Indians attacked a Guard at the Falls of the Muskingum (about 80 miles up the River), who were there stationed to protect the provisions sent up for the Treaty, in which affray we lost three men; two Indians were killed and one wounded, and they were repulsed. The Delawares, however, came in immediately, and remain to protect the Stores and Treaty. The Governor, in consequence of this violation of faith, has ordered the Stores down, and sent to demand Satisfaction for the Insult. This appears to me likely to protract the Business, a very proper measure, and such as will in its issue do us much good.

Whilst I am writing, I received your two other letters. I will endeavor to answer all your Questions. They are important Questions. I believe nobody will lose their Night-Caps, if we behave in our settlement as we ought to, and as I believe we shall. No Magazine of Provisions is yet made here, by which people may be supplied in any considerable Quantities, but they generally supply in the upper Country, though I think it Economy and in every point prudent such supply should be made, when I know it may so easily be done without loss to the Company. This and some other encouraging propositions I shall make on the 22d inst., to which time our Meeting is adjourned.

When I came, no cover was provided for any person. We have built our Huts, and the Block Houses are now begun, one being partly raised this day (the 19th). The Company have ordered four Houses to be built, under the care of the Directors, and in their disposal. One will doubtless be for the Governor, one for the Company's use, one for public Offices, and the other for accommodating the Instruction of the Settlement. On the completion of these, you will doubtless be *well* accommodated. You are much wanted—many things are necessary to be done. Rome was not built in a Day. We have some difficulties to encounter which require a persevering mind. I wish you here. I think families determined to sacrifice a temporary convenience to great prospects should hasten to this place. I am pleased with Mr. Rogers,* but your wishes are in your own power. You are the appointing power, and I never wish to make the Mode of Education, or the Instructor under such mode, more in the power of a Town Meeting than I wish Government or the Laws to be.

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* Nathaniel Rogers, born at Ipswich, Mass., March 11, 1762; graduated at Harvard College, 1782. He went to Marietta, Ohio, in May, 1788, as a teacher engaged for the purpose by Dr. Cutler, but returned the same year to Ipswich, and removed with his wife (who was the daughter of Colonel Abraham Dodge) to Salem, Mass., where they were eminently successful as teachers. In 1796, he became teacher of the Latin Grammar School in Salem, and soon after opened a private school "for the instruction of boys in English, French, Greek, and Latin languages." He died in 1799, aged 37 years. Mrs. Rogers continued to teach there several years, and died in 1817.—*See N. E. Gen. and Hist. Register.*

You are very much wanted. I wish you here.

I am, with much esteem, your obedient servant,

SAM. H. PARSONS.

19*th July*. Our city is called Mari-ette.

JOURNAL OF REV. MANASSEH CUTLER OF A JOURNEY FROM IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS, TO THE MUSKINGUM, IN 1788.

Monday, July 21, 1788. Set out from Ipswich on a journey to the Ohio and Muskingum. Mr. Ephm. Kendall, of Ipswich, was gone on to Salem, where he, with Mr. Peter Oliver, joined me on horseback. I set out myself in a sulky. Made some little stop in Salem. We dined at Newhall's, in company with Judge Cushing, and the Attorney-General, Mr. Paine. We were detained several hours in Boston. Left the town about sunset, having received a prodigious number of letters for Muskingum. Lodged at Major Whiting's, in Roxbury. 34 miles.

Tuesday, July 22. Rained last night and this morning. Waited until seven in the morning before we set out. Breakfasted at Mr. Chickering's. Several people called on me. Cleared away. We dined at Mr. Chickering's, and then set out on our way. Passed through Franklin and Woonsocket Falls. Lodged at Mr. Arnold's, tavern-keeper, and member of Congress for the State of Rhode Island. 29 miles.

Wednesday, July 23. Showery. Set out late. Breakfasted at Olney's, in Gloucester. Arrived at Felshaw's (Killingly, Connecticut) about 3 o'clock. Went to my Father's, and found all well. Did business with a number of people.

Thursday, July 24. Set out late in the morning, about 10 o'clock. Have had considerable business to do. Very showery. Made a stage at Judge Randall's, in Pomfret. Stopped in Ashford to get Major Oliver's saddle-bags mended. Very sultry; frequent and smart showers, but we did not regard them so much as to put on our loose coats. Dined at Major Clark's. Lodged at Dunham's, in Mansfield. Rode 27 miles.

Friday, July 25. This morning very windy and showery.

Set out late. Breakfasted at Widow Kimball's, in Coventry. Went on to Hartford, and dined at Bull's tavern. Mr. Bull sent for Captain Pratt, a recruiting officer from the Western Country, who gave us the stages from Bethlehem, and favored me with a letter to Mrs. Butler, the lady of General Butler, at Carlisle. Exchanged silver for gold with Mr. Pomeroy, broker. Securities 3*s*. 6*d*. on the £, but none to sell. Wrote to Mrs. Cutler, per Post. At 4 o'clock set out for Farmington. Land on the way very good, though hilly. Farmington is a very pretty village, compact, although it seems to consist of farmers principally. Lodged at Wadsworth's, sign Ball; very good house, ten miles from Hartford. 38 miles = 155.

Saturday, July 26. We rose very early. Cloudy and warm. Crossed the fields, and passed through a very extensive and fine interval. Farmington River runs through this interval. It is here a beautiful stream, and empties into Connecticut River at Windsor Ferry. Made our first stage at Frisbie's, in Bristol, seven miles, where we breakfasted. Went on to Baldwin's, in Harrington. Road rough in many places; in some, shocking. Six miles from Frisbie's to Baldwin's. These two houses are tolerable, for country taverns. Passed a considerable river, called Watertown River, which empties at Stratford. Went on to Litchfield, eight miles, and put up at Buell's, north of the Meeting House. A very good house, well furnished with tavern materials, and stables good. We dined here. Several gentlemen came in who understood we were bound to the Ohio. Purchased $45\frac{38}{90}$ Dol. of Major Symore(?). Mr. Tracy,* an attorney, called upon us, also Mr. Skinner, both of whom are concerned in the Ohio Purchase, and proposed going into the country this spring, but have put it off for the present. They were going with Mr. Tallmadge, who was at this time out of town.

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* Mr. Uriah Tracy, the attorney, who was then expecting to remove to Ohio, remained in Litchfield. He was a member of Congress from 1793 to 1796, and United States Senator from 1796 until his death, in 1806. Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, who expected to go with him, also remained in Connecticut, and was a member of Congress from 1800 to 1817. He distinguished himself during the Revolutionary War, in which he rose from the rank of Lieutenant to Colonel. He was Treasurer of the Ohio Company from 1792 until the settlement of its affairs.

Litchfield is a beautiful village, situated on a long hill, with a wide street running along the summit of the hill. The houses on both sides are compact for this country. They are large, painted, and make a rich appearance, and the whole town has the appearance of wealth. The land is excellent. The Meeting House stands near the center of the street, where the road which we traveled crossed the hill at right angles with the main street in the town. The Lieutenant-Governor, Wolcott, resides in this town, and has a very pretty seat.

We left Litchfield at 4 o'clock, and were soon drenched in showers of excessive rain. It continued raining, more or less, until we put up at night. About five or six miles from Buell's we began to ascend Mount Tom. The ascent was not very tedious, but the descent extremely steep and long. We made a small stop on the top of the Hill at a bit of a tavern. Mr. Oliver had a shoe set seven miles from Camp's tavern. At the foot of Mount Tom is a pretty large river, called Shapogue, which also empties into Stratford River. We lodged at Camp's, in Washington, ten miles from Litchfield. Very obliging people, and not dear. The land from Litchfield, and indeed from Farmington Meadows, consists of prodigious high hills and deep vales. Much of it is very good, and little of it very poor. The range of the hills and valleys is nearly from north to south. 31 miles = 186.

Sunday, July 27. The morning cloudy and misty. We did not set out very early. There being no meeting we could conveniently attend in this part of the country, we concluded to make some little advances in our journey. We passed through what used to be called New Milford, and by the Forge owned by old Doctor Whipple. We found that Major White, and most of our companies for the Ohio, had been at Camp's. Our first stage in the morning was Daton's, five miles from Camp's, where we breakfasted. The road very bad, though not very rocky. This is Kent. Our next stage Widow Beach's, six miles. The road much up hill and down, but rather better than we have had it. This house is just over the bridge on Housatonic River, at a place called Bull's Works, where there were formerly forges, and other iron works. About three miles back is an extensive bed of iron ore; some of the caverns nearly forty feet deep. The land for twenty miles back has mostly chestnut, walnut, and oak. Soil strong, but the land exceedingly hilly. In some places, on high elevations, the prospect is very extensive, and the whole surface of the earth seems to be covered with sugar-loaves of different sizes, hills high and valleys deep. Between the ranges of hills are generally extensive meadows, through which run streams of water. This is the westerly part of Kent; in less than half a mile we enter New York State.

One mile from this tavern is a wretched bridge, very dangerous to pass, and ought to be complained of. The road is good from this tavern to Colonel Morehouse's, in Dover, New York State; and about two miles beyond we ascend a tremendous mountain, two miles in the ascent. We found three families on the side of the mountain. About the middle of the ascent is a long level plain, where there is one house. On the summit of the mountain, we have an extensive prospect over North River. The ground seems to go off nearly level westward, the descent being very gradual. From the top of the mountain, the road is very good to Vanderburgh's, our next stage. Most of the land is excellent; I think the best I have ever seen in America. Vanderburgh's tavern is thirteen miles from Widow Beach's, in Bateman. Here we lodged. Colonel Vanderburgh is a cheery old Dutchman, but knows how to ask a price. Frequent showers in the forenoon; fewer in the afternoon, but very sultry, hot. This is 35 miles from Litchfield, and 25 from Camp's = 211.

Monday, July 28. Rained very hard last night and this morning. Rain slacked about six, and we set out, but were soon overtaken in a shower; roads fine. Made our next stage at Mr. Alger's, in Fishkill, ten miles, where we breakfasted. The landlady a pretty smart piece of stuff, not very complaisant. Here we were detained by the rain for some time; then went on two miles, and were stopped by the rain at Markin's, three miles from Fishkill town, where I bought some securities. Passed through Fishkill town, which is a pretty village, with two handsome Meeting Houses, both brick; one I take to be Episcopalian. This is five miles from the Ferry; a fine road the whole way we have traveled to-day. At the lower ferry over the Hudson River, we found only one or two houses, and crossed over to New Windsor. We furnished our horses with hay in the ferry-boat, so that they ate all the way over. Landed at New Windsor, a small and very indifferent village on the bank of the Hudson. Dined at How's. Went on to Bethlehem, to Captain Harrison's, or Brick Tavern, five miles from the ferry. Rode 27 miles to-day, besides the ferry, which is two. We lodged here; a tolerable house, but very dear. The last five miles not very good road, nor can it be called bad. 27 miles = 238.

Tuesday, July 29. Set out early this morning. A fine morning; cloudy, but no rain nor moisture, which we could not say of the weather for eight days past. We passed through Blooming Grove, but could not tell when we entered it or went out of it. Houses scattered all the way, rather poor; but the road tolerable, and growing better every mile. We went on twelve miles, and breakfasted at Yelverton's tavern, in Chester. An indifferent house, but good attendance, and pretty good breakfast. Here we shifted our linen, shaved, and dressed our hair. The sun now began to shine very warm. From this tavern, we went on to Warwick, and intended to stop at Smith's, in the middle of the village (nine miles), which appeared to be a good tavern; but we were told there was a tavern one mile further on. We found, however, the house was not at this time a tavern: but they entertained us very well, and good feed for our horses. It is kept by Colonel Thos. Hathorn, ten miles from Yelverton's, where we were well entertained and at a moderate price. Set out from this stage at 4 o'clock. Three miles to the State of New Jersey. After riding about two and a half miles, we were overtaken in a shower, which was very severe. We took shelter in a barn at a tavern, which was a lucky and rare opportunity for housing a carriage. After the shower, we went on to Walling's Tavern, so called. It is kept by Sears, a surly old fellow, very extravagant; his son was more complaisant. This is fourteen miles from Hathorn's. Road very good all the way; cool and cloudy. 36 miles = 274.

Wednesday, July 30. Set out just as the sun rose, and went on to Sussex Court-house, fourteen miles, road good, and breakfasted at a tavern just above the Court-house, kept by Jona. Willis. This is a pretty village, on the eastern side and near the summit of a high hill. Land good; houses indifferent. Went into the Court-house; well pleased with the form of it inside; the building is of stone. From this, the road is tolerably good to Log Jail, or Town, ten miles. There are very few houses, and those mostly miserable huts. At Log Jail or Log Town is a poor tavern, kept by Jones, a Jew. We could get nothing but oats and water; neither hay nor grass. Another tavern here, but no better.

Six miles from Log Town is Hope, commonly called Moravian Town. This is a small, new, but very pretty village, the houses mostly stone, built in Dutch style. The church or chapel is a very handsome building, on the top of a hill. We put up at Gamboult's. While dinner was preparing, we took a walk on the green, and went up to the church. As soon as we returned, a man came in, and seemed to want to know whether we wished to see the inside of the church. I told him we were strangers, and should be very happy to go into the church. He conducted us up to the church, one end of which is improved as a dwelling-house for the minister, to whom we were introduced; the other by the governess, for the instruction of misses. The upper story is a large hall, with apartments at each end. Here Divine service is performed. They have a very pretty set of organs, and the Minister played us several tunes. They have also French horns and violins. The desk is low—nothing more than a seat a little raised, with a table before it. He showed us some paintings in his own apartments. He was very polite, and gave us his blessing when we took our leave. The Granary is the next largest building. It has a family in it, and mills for grinding, bolting, etc. It is built of stone, and three stories high.

The road from Log Town here not very good. Gamboult keeps a very good house, and is very obliging. From there we came on twelve miles to White's, in Oxford township. Road not bad, but some of it rocky. We put up for the night. White is very obliging; a good tavern for this country; beds pretty good. Fair and cool. 32 miles = 306.

Thursday, July 31. Set out this morning just after sunrise. Twelve miles to East Town; road not very good. Crossed the Delaware in a good ferry-boat; the river not wide. The Lehigh enters the Delaware just below where we landed on the Pennsylvania side, called The Forks. As soon as we were over the river, we entered East Town, which is a very pretty village, the houses all stone, in the Dutch style. They have a handsome Court-house and Dutch church. There are two ministers, and every third Sunday there is preaching in English. We breakfasted at Hembt's tavern, beyond the Court-house. We could get no hay or grass, but were furnished with a good breakfast—bacon and eggs, beef and sausages in slices, raw, green tea, etc. From hence we went on to Bethlehem, twelve miles. A good road, but only four houses on the road between the two stages. When we entered the town, we put up and dined at the only tavern in the place; a good house, fine dinner, porter and cider. One of the Brethren came and conducted us to the unmarried sisters' house, to the private and public chapels where they attend prayers (in the private chapel are organs, violins, Bass-viols, spinnets, etc.), to the kitchen, to all the working-rooms—spinning, weaving, and embroidery; then to the unmarried brethren's house, where trades are carried on; and to the widows' house, public schools, water-works, spring, linseed oil mills, and other water-works. As we left the house, we met in the street two men from Muskingum belonging to Killingly. Went on to Allenstown, six miles, and crossed the Lehigh, half a mile from the town, by a rope ferry; then, in about one-fourth of a mile, crossed another branch of the Lehigh, called Jordan. We were obliged to ford it, but I took out my baggage and sent it over in a canoe. We then ascended a hill to Allenstown, a village of stone houses, some of them considerably large, with one or two public buildings of stone. It was owned by one Allen, who had a tolerable seat between the river and the town. The whole town belonged to him. He died a few years since. His widow, whom I saw (and a young lady), lives in Philadelphia, only when she comes to collect her rents. She was now at her seat. We met her in the road, with another young lady, dressed in white. They made an appearance so different from the people in this country, that we were struck with admiration. We went on three miles from this town, and put up at Aler's tavern, nine miles from Bethlehem. Fair and somewhat hot, but a good day for traveling.

Just before we arrived at Aler's we crossed a river called Cedar Creek, which rises from a remarkable spring described by General Lincoln in M. A. A. It is not far from Aler's, who describes it much as the General has done. A large mill stands within 200 feet of the head of the spring, which is very deep. Large holes are seen at the bottom, from which the water runs out, some of them as large as a man's body. There is no hill of any consideration near. Aler's is a very good house for a Dutchman's, and not dear. A fine day. 33 miles=339.

Friday, *Aug*. 1. Set out just as the sun rose, and went on to Kamp's, fourteen miles, where we breakfasted. The roads good, land excellent, and no considerable hills. Five miles from Aler's we pass two taverns, and just below them we pass what is called the Great Springs—the bridge is over a considerable river, and the springs from which it arises are within a few rods of the bridge. Kamp's is a good tavern, in the township of Maxadone. We had a very good breakfast, and not dear. Went on to Peter Schaffer's tavern, at Maiden Creek, thirteen miles from Kamp's. About one mile from Kamp's we passed through Cootstown, a little village of small houses, compact on each side of the road, every house built with logs and stone, and nearly alike. It is a curious place. Schaffer's tavern is by the side of the Schuylkill, five miles from Reading. Here we dined. This is a genuine Dutch tavern, but we fared tolerably. The roads are very good, fine land, but thinly settled. Went on to Reading, five miles, and stopped to oat at Whiteman's tavern, north-west of and near the court-house. This is a pretty town, with two market-houses, wide streets, a court-house, and one Meeting House, pretty large. There are 400 houses in the town, none very elegant, in my opinion, as they are not in the New England style, which will always be the criterion of beauty with the New England man.

Purchased some tea, and set out for the Sinking Spring. Crossed the Schuylkill, just above the town, in a boat very convenient for carriages. It is a rope-ferry, and by a large block through which the large rope passes, and a tackle at each end of the boat, the stream carries the boat from side to side without oars, setting poles, or rudder. One of the tackles is slackened, so as that the boat lies at an angle of forty-five degrees, nearly, with the rope that extends across the river. The road is naturally good, but at this time it is excessively bad, owing to the rains, and the road being cut up with heavy wagons. The earth is as stiff as if it had been frozen, and when there is water it is like a bed of clay mortar. Our horses could only walk. Sinking Spring is five miles from Reading. The tavern is kept by Muggle. Here is a very large spring, which sinks down in dry weather, hence called Sinking Spring. Dachar used to keep this tavern. The day has been fine, though somewhat hot. 28 miles = 367.

Saturday, August 2. Set out just after sunrise. The roads naturally good, but now very bad; could only walk the greater part of the first stage. Land excellent. Breakfasted at Wegelien's tavern, seven miles from the Spring. Wegelien keeps a tolerable tavern. It is in the township of Heidelburg. From this tavern we traveled through Womelsdorf Town, three miles—a pretty Dutch village. From this village to Myers Town, another village, is seven miles. This village stands on each side of the street in a straight line, the houses all new, appear to have been lately built; all Dutch. It seems to have grown up suddenly in the woods. We went on seven miles further to Lebanon, seventeen miles from where we breakfasted. This place is as large, nearly, as Reading, and is laid out in squares—Dutch buildings; some considerably elegant, mostly of stone. A market near the tavern where we dined. The tavern is kept by Gruchawald, and is, I believe, a good house. The road from Wegelien's has been excessively bad, almost to this town, occasioned by the wet weather. Land very fine, mostly, and very level, much of it uncultivated, in groves not fenced. There are several limestone quarries, which cross the road, and are somewhat bad, but there is not a great number.

From this stage we went on to the sign of the White Horse—Wm. Palm, a very obliging Dutchman. His wife is the handsomest, smartest, and most delicate Dutchwoman we have seen on the road; we could hardly believe her to be one, though she assured us she was born in Germany, and came over when a child. Very reasonable in the demand. We passed through Millerstown, a considerable village, entirely new, about three or four miles from Lebanon. Palm's is ten miles from Lebanon. A good road and fine land. It was cool and cloudy, with an appearance of rain; we therefore went on to Humbletown, nine miles. A good road. At Humbletown we put up at McRham's, next door to Lincoln's the big stone house. Good attendance and beds; very neat and obliging. Rode 43 miles to-day, very much fatigued, but our horses in good spirits.

Sunday, August 3. We lay abed late this morning, intending not to travel far. Shifted and dressed this morning. We found this the best house we have been at since we left home, and very cheap. Breakfasted and set out at nine. Went on to Harrisburg, nine miles. This is a beautiful town; it contains about one hundred houses, all built in less than three years, many of them brick, some three stories, built in the Philadelphia style, and all appear very neat. A great number of taverns, with handsome signs, houses two stories, and large windows. About one-half the people here are English. People were going to meeting in a private house; no churches yet. The people appear very well dressed—some gay. About a mile from the last stage I ferried over a branch of the Susquehanna, called Sweet Aaron's Creek. Mr. Kendall and Mr. Oliver forded. Just as we entered Harrisburg, we forded another small creek, called Paxton's Creek. This tavern is kept by Crebb; a good house.

We met this morning two men from the Muskingum, belonging to Waterbury, in Connecticut. They inform us of the mischief done by the Indians, and the improbability of a Treaty. We crossed the river opposite to the town. There is an island in the middle of the river, about a mile from each shore; the water is not deep, and is often forded in the summer. We went on seven miles to Pollock's tavern. A fat Irishman gave us a grand dinner, but our horses fared badly; intolerably dear. Went on at five o'clock to Carlisle, ten miles, where we lodged, seventeen miles from the Susquehanna. Roads naturally good, but now intolerable; very level. Carlisle is a larger town than Reading, stands on a plain, blue hills to the north, and a range of mountains south. The houses are many of them large and well built, but very heavy; bad taste for building. A square in the center for public buildings; court-house and church within it. Just before we came to the town, we saw on our left the barracks. They are built of brick in four ranges, one at the end. They appeared like colleges—an immense pile of buildings, far exceeding any thing in this part of the country. Lodged at Foster's, south-west of the Court-house; a good house. A Mr. Mould was here, on his way to Fort Pitt with his family and one other. They had a coach and three wagons. Very hot day. 26 miles = 436.

Monday, Aug. 4. I rose early, but did not set out till seven. Breakfasted at Sample's, a good house, seven miles. Roads intolerable. Went on to Shippensburg, fourteen miles, with only stopping a few minutes at McClogin's, seven miles from Sample's. We put up at McCandle's; every attention was paid us, although they were not well provided. Dined; had our horses' shoes examined, and a strap put under one of the thills of my sulky. This is a new but large town, in one street about 150 houses, some tolerable good ones. Set out at five for the foot of the mountains, to Keeser's. Broke the forepiece of my sulky, which detained us. Road very wet in places. At five miles' distance, night came on; when dark, the roads excessive bad, being new and wet; we had a shocking time. Arrived at Keeser's at 10 o'clock. This is a Dutch house, the landlord obliging, but the house bad in itself. We were turned into a hot, log chamber, full of people, and were kept awake almost all night by a crazy woman. Slept a little in the morning, as we proposed to rest a day at this house. We had a very hot day. 31 miles = 467.

Tuesday, Aug. 5. Got my sulky mended this morning. Here we met with Mr. Colt, from Massachusetts, going on to the Ohio, who had been but little before us from Litchfield. He offered to exchange horses, though mine held out exceedingly well. Put his horse in my carriage, and went over Blue Mountain, the first that we ascend. It is long, in some parts steep, but steepest in descending; the road rock, some of it very good, except the extreme length, which is three miles. We now came into Horse Valley, and breakfasted at Skinner's, who has had the superintendency, and was the principal man in making the new roads. Here, I concluded to leave my sulky, and go on horseback, as I can travel faster, and no pleasure can be taken in a carriage. Mr. Skinner very obligingly furnished me with saddle, saddle-bags, etc. While I was preparing, Mr. Rogers, of Ipswich, came up, on his way home, and brought me letters from Muskingum. Wrote to Mrs. Cutler, but only a line.

From Skinner's we ascend the Middle Mountain. This, in places, is steep; though much has been done to the roads, the descent is steep. We passed through Path Valley, and ascended Tuscarara Mountain—long, but the road mostly good, descent steep—and came into Ahwick Valley. Made a stage at Jennison's, about two miles from the foot of the mountain, only to oat, and went on to Burd's, a fine house, where we were provided with every thing we wished for. This is twelve miles from Skinner's. The road from Jennison's to this house is mostly good, some few sharp pitches. This is Fort Littleton, and there are some pretty plantations. A fine day, except very hot. 15 miles = 481.

Wednesday, Aug. 6. Set out early this morning. Bill very high, though we had good food, beds, and feed. The road very good for some ways. Nine miles from this we begin to ascend Sideling Hill. The hill has very little ascent in the new road, on which they were now at work. Some part is not yet completed. When finished, it must be called a good road for this country. It is seven miles over the hills. We found a bit of a tavern at the foot of the hill—Tate's tavern. We got some oats and rye, but could get nothing to eat. After oating, we went on to Martin's, two miles, which made our morning stage eighteen miles. We arrived at 1 o'clock, when we breakfasted and dined in the same meal. A tolerable tavern for provision for man and horse. Here we met a Packer with ten pack-horses, loaded principally with ginseng in barrels, two barrels on a pack-horse. Price at Fort Pitt, two shillings; at Carlisle, five shillings. Met a great number of these Packers, but the wagon struck us with astonishment. Just at Martin's, before we came to his house, we crossed the Juniata, a branch of the Susquehanna. Went on for Bedford, fourteen miles. We rode much of the way in view of the Juniata, frequently on the very banks; roads pretty good. Before we got six miles, and at about two miles, we passed the narrows or gaps of two ranges of high mountains; we could not learn the names. A mile this side of Bedford we crossed the Juniata, or a branch of it, on a good but long bridge. It was daylight-in when we arrived at Bedford. It is the shire-town of the County of Bedford (the poorest county in Pennsylvania); a pretty large cluster of houses, on low ground, surrounded by mountains. The Juniata passes near these houses. Some of the buildings are pretty large, and appear well.

Judge Symmes* had taken lodging at the best tavern. We, however, made shift to get lodgings in the same house, Mr. Wertz', a Dutchman. Judge Symmes was complaisant. I had a letter to him from his brother, at Sussex Court-house. He has his daughter with him, a very pretty young lady; one or two women with their husbands; six heavy wagons, one stage

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*John Cleves Symmes was born on Long Island 1742. Removed to New Jersey, and was prominent during the Revolution as Colonel of a Militia Regiment in active field service. He was one year Lieutenant-Governor of New Jersey; six years a member of the Council; two years a a member of the Continental Congress, and twelve years a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. In August, 1787, Judge Symmes, encouraged by the success of the Ohio Company, obtained from Congress a grant for a purchase of a tract of land fronting on the Ohio River between the two Miamis and extending north to the 10th Township. Having been unable to pay for the whole, after much negotiation, he closed a contract, in 1792, for 1,000,000 acres. The continued rise in Government securities made it impossible to pay for this, and in 1794 a patent was granted him for between 300,000 and 400,000 acres, including the front on the Ohio River and extending back to the 3d Township. He was appointed one of the Judges of the North-west Territory, 1788. He died, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1814. Judge Symmes was three times married. He left two daughters—one, Maria, married Major Peyton Short; one, Anna, became the wife of William Henry Harrison, afterward President of the United States.—*See McBride's Pioneer Biography.*

wagon, and a chair; thirty-one horses; three carpenters, and one mason. Has been out three weeks. Fair day, not excessive hot, but we found it hard to get on 32 miles = 513.

Thursday, Aug. 7. Rose early this morning. So foggy that we could see little of the town. Set out just after sunrise. Judge Symmes' wagons were nearly ready to start when we left the house. A company of soldiers encamped one and a half miles out of town, but had moved off the ground before we got up; about sixty; did not see them. They took the Pittsburg road four miles from Bedford; we took the Glade road to the left. This is a fine road to Peter Wurtz's, where we breakfasted; roads fine; Buffalo Mountain on our left. This tavern is in Buffalo Valley; the road good from Bedford. We forded two pretty large branches of the Juniata, or perhaps the same twice; not very deep. This is a good house, kept by a Dutchman, very obliging; good food for man and horse, and not high. From this, there is a tavern about six miles distant, where we saw Major White's wagon. Four miles further is another bit of a tavern, but nothing to be had for man or horse. At the last tavern, by mistake, we left the wagon road, on which we should have found a tavern five miles further; but we went on in an old road, where some people had just passed, until we were very anxious, apprehending ourselves in a wrong road, but determined to pursue it until we came to some habitation. We passed an old empty cabin, where we found fine feed in the road, clover mid-leg high, and here we baited our horses for some time. We then began to ascend the Alleghany Mountains; our ascent pretty steep; very anxious. We traveled from the last tavern eleven miles before we came to a house. Before we began to descend the Alleghany Mountains, we came into the wagon road, which relieved our fears. We baited our horses for a few minutes at the first house, a Dutch cabin. The descent of the Alleghany Mountains is not steep, but the road is new and bad. We went on to Black's, in the Glades, twenty-three miles from our last stage, where we breakfasted, without eating or drinking any thing but water by the way, and arrived about sunset. A fine, cool day. From this place, the waters run west. The

Alleghany Mountains is the line between the east and west waters. Two springs within a stone's throw. 30 miles = 543.

Friday, Aug. 8. This is a pretty good house for this country, a good plantation, and prices reasonable. Went on just after sunrise. At two and a half miles from Black's, stopped and had my horse shod. Two Dutch families here, who wish to go to Muskingum. Our next stage at Coldpenny's tavern, nine and a half miles from Black's. Road passable, and breakfast tolerable good. A prodigious number of pack-horses at this stage.

Went on six miles to Laurel Mountain. The ascent not steep; moderately good over the mountain to the descent, except muddy and wet; but the descent is very steep; the road tolerable after we got to the bottom. It is ten miles over this mountain. A poor French house six miles on, but nothing to be had; and at the foot west is a poor house—not much to be had. Went on three miles to Anfret's, a Dutch house, on Chestnut Ridge, where we lodged. Dark before we arrived. Here we dined and supped in the same meal; good keeping for horses and passable for ourselves. Traveled to-day twenty-eight miles. Cool, rainy afternoon; eat up with fleas at night. 28 miles = 571.

Saturday, Aug. 9. Did not set out very early. Went on to Mount Pleasant township, seven miles, and breakfasted at Kneely's tavern, a good house. From this, we proceeded to Sumrell's Ferry, thirteen miles. Four miles short of the ferry, I stopped to see Jervis, at Brown's and Burnham's. Jervis was gone to Hannah's Town. Got Mr. Brown to go after him, and went on to Sumrell's. Major Coburn[*] and family, with two wagons, came here this evening. We crossed Youghiogheny River just before we came to Sumrell's. Here we found Captain Bartlett[†] and family, Bill Dodge,

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[*] Major Asa Coburn, who came to Marietta in the latter part of 1788, was one of three brothers who entered the Colonial army at the opening of the Revolution. Phineas, eldest son of Major Coburn, joined the first company of Ohio emigrants. Major Coburn died at Waterford, during the Indian War.—*History of Washington Co., Ohio.*

[†] Captain William Bartlett, Naval Agent (by appointment of General Washington) at the port of Beverly, Mass., during the Revolutionary

Cushing,* and Cheever. House very full; not very well accommodated. Colonel May just arrived from Muskingum, on his way to Boston. Wrote to Mrs. Cutler. The road to-day most of it good; some bad hills; a little rain, but rather cool. Extremely fatigued. 20 miles = 591.

Sunday, Aug. 10. Felt my fatigue most sensibly but could not get excused from going six miles to meeting. An excessively bad road. Mr. Finley is the minister. He has two congregations, eight miles distant. The Meeting House is in the woods; no house near; a large congregation. Supposed three or four hundred horses; made a curious appearance. The congregation appeared well. I preached in the afternoon. We had half an hour intermission. When I got back to Sumrell's, I was almost ready to give up the thought of going further. Cool day.

Monday, Aug. 11. Major Coburn very sick yesterday. I advised him an emetic of blood-root, to remove a heavy load at his stomach. It operated kindly as an emetic and cathartic, but the pain in his stomach and side was severe still when I returned from meeting. I therefore opened a vein, which gave him relief, and this morning he set out on his journey; his

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War, was born in Beverly, in 1741; moved to Westmoreland County, Penn., in 1785, and died there in 1794. Letters of Mrs. Bartlett to her friends in Massachusetts, in which the above visit of Dr. Cutler to them is spoken of, are in possession of Captain Bartlett's great-grandchildren, now living in Marietta. Captain Bartlett's son Henry came from Sumrell's ferry to Marietta in 1796; spent the winter of 1796–97 in the stockade, and moved to Athens in 1796, and settled on lands belonging to his father's share in the Ohio Company. He was for many years Clerk of the Courts in that county, and Secretary of the Trustees of the Ohio University. He died in Athens, in 1850, aged 79.

* Nathaniel Cushing was born in Pembroke, Mass., 1753. He married Elizabeth Heath, 1775. During the Revolutionary War, he served as Lieutenant in Brewer's Regiment, Captain in the Sixth Massachusetts, and won the brevet of Major. He came to Marietta, Ohio, with his family, in 1788, and, with Major Goodale and others, settled at Belpre, 1789. He was commissioned Captain in the First Regiment, Territorial Militia, 1788, and Colonel, 1797. After Major Goodale's capture, he commanded the garrison at Farmers' Castle. Colonel Cushing and his wife both died at Belpre, 1814.—*See Hildreth's Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio.*

case bilious. Jervis came over this morning. Thought best he should continue here in his school. We set out about 11 o'clock, and went on eight miles, and crossed Monongahela at Devour's ferry; a fine river. Dined just over it, at Parkinson's; tolerable house. Went on eight miles to another Parkinson's; a most excellent road. Parkinson keeps a good house. Diversion at shooting with his rifle. This is Nottingham township. 16 miles = 607.

Tuesday, Aug. 12. Rose at day-break; set out as the sun rose. Major Kendall made a fine shot at a chicken, and won half a pint of whisky. Went on, and breakfasted at Washington, which used to be called Catfish. It is a street of houses, all new—stumps in the street. There are some handsome buildings—a Court-house and jail—in the center of the little city. This is eleven miles from Parkinson's; fine road. After breakfast went on to Wells', sixteen miles, no stage between, mostly woods, but a very good road, no stones nor considerable hills. Arrived at Wells' about three, and put up. Here we found Mr. McFarland and his brother, from Haverhill, Mr. Sawyer,* and Mr. Porter.† We were well entertained for this country. Fine gardens, mills, tannery, etc. 27 miles = 634.

Wednesday, Aug. 13. Diverted ourselves this morning shooting squirrels. Before dinner Captain Cooper, who came up in the Ohio Company's large boat, came here to inquire for Major Coburn. After dinner we set out for the mouth of Buffalo, in company with Captain Cooper. Went to Charles Wells', Esq., which is about a mile over the line between Pennsylvania and Virginia. This line is cut about twenty feet wide through the woods, and makes a singular appearance.

At this place we agreed to put up our horses at one dollar per month, oats at 3*s*. per bushel to feed my horse two weeks, twice a day. This is four miles from Alex. Wells'. We went on to Buffalo, which is six miles as the road goes, but, by attempting to get into another road, we lost our way, and traveled the whole way in the woods, in a foot-path, over shocking hills. This made it late at night before we arrived at the house where General Tupper was. Lodged on the floor; people kind. Mr. Prather's. This is called Coxe's Fort. 10 miles = 644.

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* Nathaniel Sawyer was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, May 12, 1757. Married Lydia, daughter of Ebenezer Porter, of Ipswich (Hamlet), April 18, 1778. Settled at Hannahstown, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania.—*Porter Genealogy*.

† Ebenezer Porter, born in Ipswich (Hamlet), July 27, 1732; married Lydia, daughter of Thomas Cummings; died at Little Hockhocking, Ohio, February 24, 1827.

Thursday, Aug. 14. This morning we went down to the Ohio River, one-fourth of a mile, where we had the first sight of this beautiful river. It is now very low. Mr. Prather, where we are lodged, went with us. He bid me welcome to his house while I tarried. In the afternoon went to the Fort, where were Major Goodale* and others going down in the boat. This Fort is a little stockade for the defense of this neighborhood. Several small houses within the stockade. Swearingen's is the principal family. It was proposed that a sermon should have been delivered, and the people were notified, but it rained in the afternoon, which prevented. The Yankee singers collected, and sang a number of tunes; we then attended prayers. Returned to Mr. Prather's.

Friday, August 15. This morning we went pretty early to the boat. General Tupper had mentioned to me a mode for constructing a machine to work in the head or stern of a boat instead of oars. It appeared to me highly probable it might succeed. I therefore proposed that we should make the experiment. Assisted by a number of the people, we went to work, and constructed a machine in the form of a screw with short blades, and placed it in the stern of the boat, which we turned with a crank. It succeeded to admiration, and I think it a very useful discovery. Just at night we attended public worship at the Fort. Major Coburn arrived.

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* Nathan Goodale was born in Brookfield, Mass., in 1743. He served in the Revolutionary War as a Lieutenant in Brewer's regiment, assistant Engineer to Colonel Rufus Putnam (when he was acting Chief Engineer of the army), Captain in the Fifth Massachusetts, and Major. His promotion to Major was in consequence of a highly commendatory letter from General Rufus Putnam to General Washington. Major Goodale was once a prisoner in the hands of the British, and twice wounded. He came to Ohio with his family in 1788. In 1789 he settled in Belpre, and at the outbreak of the Indian War was placed in command of Farmers' Castle, as the fort at Belpre was called. In 1793 he was captured by the Indians. His fate was never certainly ascertained.—*See Hildreth's Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio.*

Saturday, Aug. 16. This morning Mr. Prather and I went to the boat; began to take on board the wagons. We went down in a boat with General Tupper to sound as far as Buffalo Creek, one mile below our landing, the river being very low, and having fallen since yesterday. Mr. Prather and I went up his bottom, and examined the ground where he is going to lay out a town, at the mouth of Buffalo Creek. Examined several vegetables, the Pawpaw, Ipecac, Redbud, Spanish Oak, Honey-locust, Aspen, Black-poplar, Poultice-root, etc. After dinner got on our stock; the boat would not float. The afternoon was spent in attempting to get her into the channel, which was not accomplished until dark. Returned to our lodgings. As Mr. Prather had bid me welcome, and would take nothing, I was unwilling to return, but it was unavoidable. Fair day.

Sunday, Aug. 17. This morning rose early. The people got on board at 9 o'clock. Went past Buffalo Creek before we could get the cattle on board. Took our leave very cordially of Mr. Prather and family, who went so far with us. Went down the river, which is a most delightful stream, very romantic. At seven miles from Buffalo we passed a Post on the Federal side, commanded by Captain McMahon, Virginia militia. A number of huts, men, women, and children. A mile below this we make a stop at Short Creek, for four barrels of flour. The creek very small. Below this we passed two or three islands, very romantic. Went on to Wheeling, eighteen miles, where we arrived about 5 o'clock, and landed our cattle. Lodged at Esquire Zane's.* Place been fortified

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* The ancestors of Colonel Ebenezer Zane came over with William Penn, at the first settlement of Philadelphia. The ground where the city of Wheeling now stands was explored in 1769 by Colonel Ebenezer Zane and his two brothers, Jonathan and Silas. They removed here from the south branch of the Potomac.—*Dr. S. P. Hildreth.*

Ebenezer was a delegate to the State Convention held at Richmond in 1788 to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution.—*Note to Colonel May's Journeys to the Ohio Country.*

—a pretty settlement. Opposite to his house is a very rich and fine island of 300 acres. Lodged on the floor, with a bit of a cot. Slept very little. Cooked provisions for two days. Fair day. Wheeling 18 miles = 662.

Monday, Aug. 18. This morning Esquire Zane showed me his rice in his garden, about a rod square, in six drills. Horses, a few nights before, got in and cropped it. He assured me it would have yielded two bushels. He has raised ten bushels from four rods square. It grows upon a high bank, on a somewhat sandy second bottom. Has now good rice on his island. The seed must be obtained in the chaff. We ought to get seed from Carolina, and the mode of cleansing. He pounds it in a mortar as he needs it. He raises cotton. Wants information in pruning the plant; it is annual. Both rice and cotton should be put in the ground very early, by the middle of April; no frost after this time. He has raised good indigo, and says we may cultivate as much as we please. He raises excellent tobacco; has a fine bottom, well cleared. He is very generous. Requested me to call again. Fine orchard, and large nursery of peaches—offered to give me two or three hundred. Nine o'clock before we got our cattle on board; left Wheeling about ten. Went down the river very easy. At twelve miles from Wheeling we came to Grave Creek, on the Virginia side, and went on shore to see the monument. It is on a plain, and raised sixty feet, round, and a ditch all around; covered with trees—a white oak four feet in diameter near the summit—cavity in the middle covered with sow-tits. Fine fruit in plenty. Went to the houses; fine orchard. Saw one or two small mounds.

Divided ourselves into five reliefs at rowing at night. General Tupper and I excused ourselves from rowing. Slept poorly. Just before day a boat hailed us; Colonel Crary on board. Passed Long Reach in the night, rainy, cloudy all night, but the moon gave light. Passed through Long Reach, and by that means lost sight of it. [We had 48 souls on board. Daily Journal.]

Tuesday, August 19. Cloudy and showers. Went on rapidly. Several fine prospects up and down the river. Land less mountainous. Saw Round Bottom, the land owned by

General Washington; very extensive and good. It is about sixty miles from Muskingum, and seventeen miles below Wheeling. We landed about eleven o'clock on the Federal side. Fine land, the hills began to retire from the river. Land very level on each side as far as the eye could reach. Many beautiful islands. Began to rain about two, and continued to rain very hard until we landed at Muskingum. Passed the Little Muskingum, a pretty large creek, and Duck Creek; the course of the Ohio nearly north-west, having turned gradually and beautifully from south for four or five miles—fine bottom on each side. Against Little Muskingum and Duck Creek lies Kerr's Island, which bows in the same manner as the river, terminating about a mile before we landed.

The first appearance was the Fort, which was very pretty. The state of the air injured our prospect very much. We landed at The Point, and were very politely received by the Honorable Judges, General Putnam, and our friends. General Putnam invited me to his lodgings, which is a marquee. Rained extremely hard in the evening and at night. Mr. Breck and others set out up the river yesterday by land. I drank tea with General Parsons.

From Wheeling to Grave Creek, 12 miles; from Grave to Fish Creek, 12; from Fish to Fishing Creek, 15; from Fishing to Middle Island, 28; from Middle Island to Bull Creek, 12; from Bull Creek to Muskingum, 10—89=751 miles from Ipswich.

Wednesday, Aug. 20. This day an entertainment was given to the Governor and officers of the Garrison by the Directors of the Company at the Hall in Campus Martius. Went a little over the ground. Major Sargent and myself went over to the Garrison; paid my compliments to his Excellency. Was introduced to General Harmar* and lady, Major

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* General Josiah Harmar was a native of Pennsylvania, and served through the revolution as an officer in the Pennsylvania troops in the Continental line. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the First United States Infantry in 1784, Brevet Brigadier-General, 1787, and resigned in 1792. He was the first General-in-Chief of the United States Army. From 1793 to 1799 he was Adjutant-General of

Doughty,* Captain McCurdy and lady, etc. We came over in the barge to the Hall with his Excellency, the ladies, and officers. Barge rowed by twelve oars—awning—Sargent in the stern, the word "Congress" painted on the blade of each oar; well disciplined in rowing The Fort is a square, very handsome. Block-houses at the corners, curtains, barracks, new works raised, cannon, field-pieces in the square. A number of Indians at the Fort, who have come in to the treaty. We landed up the Muskingum, opposite to the Campus Martius. A handsome dinner, with punch and wine. The Governor and ladies from the Garrison, very sociable. Miss Rowena Tupper and the two Mrs. Goodale dined, and fifty-five gentlemen. Returned in the barge to the Point. A little rain.

Thursday, Aug. 21. Foggy night and morning. After dinner we took a long walk over the city lots, through the corn-field, which astonished me on account of its magnitude. I should be as soon lost in it as in a cedar swamp in a cloudy day. We were extremely fatigued with traveling through it. Went on to the high mound, a white oak upon the top, which General Putnam judged to be 100 feet high. Went on most of the works, and particularly on the Via Sacra. Shall describe these works more fully in another place. Felt myself much injured yesterday and to-day by representations made by the Rhode Island faction respecting the Scioto Company's purchase.

Friday, Aug. 22. Foggy again night and morning. After breakfast Captain Stone and I went over the river to the Virginia side, where there are about thirteen families. Called on Mr. Williams,† who is the principal man. He has here a

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Pennsylvania. He died in Philadelphia, 1813. For his military record and that of Captain McCurdy, see "Return of the Pennsylvania Troops in the Service of the United States, 7th August, 1787," published in Philadelphia, 1887, with notes by Colonel John P. Nicholson.

* Major John Doughty, commander of the artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel in 1798. Fort Harmar was erected by the troops under his command in 1785.—*Note to Colonel May's Journeys to the Ohio Country.*

† Isaac Williams was a native of Chester County, Pennsylvania, where he was born in 1737. When but eighteen years of age he was employed by the colonial government as scout to watch the movements of

fine farm of 400 acres; the other people are his tenants. He came here the 25th of March, 1787; has large quantities of flax, corn, and good gardens. He gave me a very good cat-fish, on which we dined. Afternoon about the Point. Fair, fine evening. A number of Indians over, and dined with us.

Saturday, Aug. 23. Visited two or three persons that were sick. A fine, fair morning. Out on the bank of the Ohio. Half Indian King, Zane's son, and other Indians here. Preparing for to-morrow in the woods. I found when I came in at night a number of Indians at the Point, the squaws mostly drunk, Indians sober. There was a small shower in the afternoon, and in the night a most severe tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain; almost drowned.

Sunday, Aug. 24. Cloudy this morning, and very muddy. Attended public worship in the Hall in Campus Martius; the Hall very full; had but one exercise. People came from the Virginia shore and from the Garrison. Governor sick. Began with short prayer, read scripture, etc., sang three times. Mean to establish this order in future. Dined with Generals Parsons and Varnum. We took a walk out just at sunset, and went as far as the great tree.* Measured the diameter—

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the Indians. In this capacity he was with Braddock in his brief campaign. After the treaty made with the Indians by Colonel Boquet, in 1765, Mr. Williams brought his parents over the mountains and settled on Buffalo Creek, and engaged in hunting and trapping. In 1775 he married Mrs. Rebecca Martin, a young widow, whose husband had been killed by the Indians. During the war along the border (1777 to 1783) Mr. Williams lived near Red Stone fort on the Monongahela River, returning to the valley of the Ohio, near Wheeling, in 1784. When Fort Harmar was established he moved to a point in Virginia directly opposite the mouth of the Muskingum, where Mrs. Williams' brother had made for her an entry of four hundred acres of land. He established friendly relations with the Ohio Company people on their arrival, and his knowledge of frontier life and acquaintance with the Indians was of much value to them. He died in 1820.—*See Hildreth's Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio.*

*The reference is to the trees mentioned in the pamphlet prepared by Dr. Cutler in 1787 for the Ohio Company, and printed in full in the Appendix to this work. "General Parsons measured a black-walnut tree, near the Muskingum, whose circumference at five feet from the thirteen feet in diameter in the two opposite directions, *i. e.*, at right angles. The tree is broken down; one side is about eighteen feet high, the opposite about two feet. The inside of the tree is not only hollow, but has been burnt so that there is but a thin shell. The growth of the tree is sloping; if cut off about two feet above the ground would contain sixty-four men, allowing eighteen inches to a man. Six horsemen could ride in abreast, and parade in the tree at the same time. We measured the circumference as near the ground as possible, so as to take in all the bulges, and make it forty-six and a half feet. About two feet above the ground we measured the circumference again, and found it to be forty-one and a half feet. This seems to have been the proper place to have measured it to give the proper circumference, and gives the diameter fourteen feet. At the height of sixteen feet, the tree was only six feet in diameter; at eighteen feet, it branched into three large branches, which now lie on the ground. A shower this evening, with thunder.

Monday, Aug. 25. This morning an appearance of rain, but cleared away, so that our surveyors went up the Muskingum to complete the surveys of the eight-acre lots, under the protection of a sergeant's guard from the Garrison. After dinner, General Parsons, Putnam, and myself, went out to survey Captain Heart's and my city lots, on the Ohio. Before we had completed them, a most violent thunder-shower came up, and we were obliged to return. Got seriously wet—almost drowned in our tent. The wind very high; several trees broke off and blown down near us. About three o'clock in the night I was called up to see a child of Major Cushing's, supposed to be dying. Just before I got into the house it expired. The first person that died in the city of Marietta. This child was very low when Major Cushing left New England. Its disorder appeared to be a proper *atropha infantilis*, extremely emaciated; expected it would have expired in the boat while we were coming down. Dr. Scott, of the Garrison, attended after it arrived here. He spoke encouraging; ap-

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ground was twenty-two feet. A sycamore near the same place measured forty-four feet in circumference at some distance from the ground."

pears to be ingenious. I attended with him yesterday, but suspected it was too late for any kind of medicine to produce any valuable effect. Its name was Nabby; thirteen months old.

Tuesday, Aug. 26. Fine morning, fair and pleasant; wind north-west. The first time the wind has blown from any quarter except south-west since my arrival. Went over to the Virginia shore. Met with Dr. Scott, and visited his patients with him. Two large Kentucky boats here, with a number of families bound to Judge Symmes' settlement. Went out, afternoon, on the city lots and parsonage land; found it much better than I expected. Went on to the burying ground; fixed on the place* to bury Major Cushing's child.

Wednesday, Aug. 27. Foggy morning; fine day, but rather warm. Judge Symmes and his company arrived last night. He, with his daughter, made us a visit to-day. A very well accomplished young lady. At 2 o'clock attended the funeral of Major Cushing's child. A considerable number of people collected. The coffin, cherry-tree. Proposed that it should not be colored; an example for the future. We agreed to walk in order. Very decent funeral.

After the child was buried, went over a number of the hills back; fine prospect, most delightful for country-seats. Land excellent for wheat. Much fatigued. Fine day.

Thursday, Aug. 28. Morning foggy; fine day. Edmund Moulton bit by a copperhead this morning, just before day, in the room where he slept. Snake killed. Another small one found near the house. Made him bite a number of times. Took off his head and examined his teeth. Took out seven teeth from the bladder on one side his jaw. Found a circular bone, in which the teeth were inserted; this bone is connected with the jaw by a strong ligament.

Afternoon, visited by Madame Zanes, a squaw, descended from a royal family, daughter of the half-king of the Wyandots. Her family and her brother, a son of the half-king, were with her, old Guyer-suter, a Seneca chief, and several others. Madame Zanes and her family were very richly dressed. It was said she had on three hundred brooches, and that her whole dress cost five hundred dollars. Her family in the same style, very neat. We have had Indians to dine with us almost every day since I have been on the Point; principally Delawares, Wyandots, one or two Shawanese, Mingo, Seneca, or Six Nations. No other nations come in. The Chippewas and Ottawas appear to be rather inclined for war, but have come into the Council at Sandusky, and acceded to a general peace.

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* The site selected by Doctor Cutler as a burial place for the child of Major Cushing was on the ridge, south of the present cemetery, where the house of Beman Gates now stands. General Varnum was

Friday, Aug. 29. This morning General Putnam and I went up the Muskingum. Traveled through Virgin's Bottom and Wiseman's Bottom.* Saw four deer at different times, one of them a large buck. Killed a large rattlesnake. Found our boat, and crossed the river. Went into the water; found a great number of clam cohog shells, some very large. Grapes plenty on the small island. A shower came on, and gave us a severe dousing. Went on shore to the surveyors. Here is an excellent tract of land, more than one thousand acres in a

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also buried there. His grave was not marked, but was discovered when the excavations were making for the foundations for Mr. Gates' house, and the remains were fully identified by the coat buttons.

During the Indian war, 1790 to 1794, when it was unsafe to go far from the fort, burials were made on the brow of the hill, now dug away, on Third street, near Wooster. General Benjamin Tupper, who died in 1792, was buried between Third and Fourth streets, opposite the great elevated square. Major Anselm Tupper and an infant child of Colonel Ichabod Nye were also buried there.

Mound Cemetery was opened in the year 1800. The first person buried in it was Robert Taylor, who died 30th September, 1801.

Oak Grove Cemetery was purchased by the city from Hon. Arius Nye in 1861. The remains of twenty-six persons were removed from the grounds of Mr. Gates and re-interred in Oak Grove in 1871, and a neat monument was erected to them.

* Colonel Joseph Barker was the first settler in Wiseman's Bottom. Captain Jonathan Devol soon joined him. Both of them were skilled mechanics and builders. Ship building was the earliest important industry established at Marietta. Colonel Barker built a number of ships on his farm on the bank of the Muskingum, as did Captain Devol. Captain Devol also constructed a floating mill, after patterns furnished by Griffin Greene, and anchored it in the Muskingum, opposite his home. *See History Washington County.*

body of bottom. Lodged in the woods with the surveyors. We were extremely wet, but made a large fire and were comfortable. A party of soldiers were with us, who kept a guard all night.

Saturday, August 30. Went over the river this morning, and viewed the bottom on the west side; very fine. Saw some of my lots. Grapes plenty. Saw many fine fish; a most beautiful river. Came down in the boat. Much fatigued. Wrote home to Mrs. Cutler to set out for Mr. Chickering's Wednesday, October 8th.

Sunday, Aug. 31. Cloudy and misty. Preached. Governor present. Dined with Colonel Battelle.* Drank tea with Sargent.

Monday, September 1. Foggy morning. Busy at the tent. The Governor and General Harmar over in the afternoon. Invited to dine with the Governor next day.

Tuesday, Sept. 2. Court of Common Pleas opened this morning at Campus Martius in the Hall. Procession from the Point. Opened with prayer. The Governor and Supreme Judges present. The Judges of the Court of Common Pleas and myself dined with the Governor at Fort Harmar. Genteel dinner; fine fruit. Mrs. Harmar a fine woman. Beautiful gardens. Returned before night.

Wednesday, Sept. 3. This morning, General Putnam and myself went over to the Garrison. Dr. Scott took a tour with us up to the Indian Camp. Not a great number, many being gone out hunting; very friendly. We went from thence up the high hill north-west of the Fort and west of the city. Fine prospect. Some excellent land; fine rock for building; and it is proposed that the University should be on this hill. Found a number of Indian graves on the highest summit, consisting of heaps of stone. Returned by way of the bottom, back of

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*Colonel Battelle, only son of Ebenezer Battelle, of Dedham, Mass., graduated at Harvard College, 1775, settled in Boston, and there married Miss Anna Durrant. April 6, 1788, set out on the journey to Ohio, arriving at Adelphia (Marietta) after six weeks' toilsome journeying. In 1789, removed to Belpre; from there to Newport, in 1802, where he died in 1815.—*History of Washington Co., Ohio.*

the Fort; very fine. Viewed the gardens, and called on Captain McCurdy. Returned to dine. Busy afternoon.

Thursday, Sept. 4. Went out this morning to view the land up the Ohio—the school lots, etc. Killed pigeons; much fatigued. About fourteen in company. Returned in the afternoon, and drank tea at Colonel Battelle's. A tremendous thunderstorm in the latter part of the night; lightning incessant; rained very hard.

Friday, Sept. 5. Very warm this morning; cloudy, with showers. Went over a number of the city lots. Many of the natives to dine.

Saturday, Sept. 6. Went up early this morning to Campus Martius. The Directors ordered yesterday that this day the surveyors be directed to measure the Ancient Works; that the Governor be requested to attend; that a number of the largest and oldest trees be cut down, in order to count the rings, etc. After dinner, the Governor came over, with Mons. Vigo, from St. Vincent's; Captain Prather and others attended. (See minutes.*) Examined the elevated squares, Sacra Via, measured the great mound, ditch, etc.; observed the old trees and

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*These minutes, in the handwriting of Dr. Cutler, are among the Putnam papers in the library of the College at Marietta. The following is a copy:

"A Poplar or Tulip tree cut down on the parapet N. of the Sacra Via, near the highest part of the ridge. Mean Diameter within the bark, 5 ft. 11.2 inches; tree hollow; the greatest width of the sound part of the tree, in which the concentric circles could be counted, was 8.8 inches; nearly on the opposite side of the sound part was only 5.6 inches. The calculation of the number of the circles was made by counting the circles contained in these two parts. In 8.8 were 109 circles; in 5.6 were 70. The same number of circles was presumed to have been in the parts decayed as in the sound within the same space, without any regard to circles being nearer together than at the circumference.

"Computing by the No. contained in 8.8, the circles 441; 5.6, the circles 445.

"In the N.W. angle of the great square, are evident traces of an old stump of tree, decayed to the surface of the ground, which measures 8 feet Diameter. The body of the tree is nearly moldered away, and appears to have been of a large size. On the eastern end of the parapet, N. of Sacra via is a stump much decayed, which measures 29 feet 9 inches circumference; the body nearly perished. On the same parastumps, as well as those cut down. Engaged a passage with Mons. Vigo* up the Ohio.

Sunday, Sept. 7. Pleasant day, and full meeting. Many of the people on the Virginia shore were over, and most of the gentlemen from the Garrison. Dined with Captain McCurdy and Dr. Scott, on venison steak and squirrel pie; very good dinner. Mrs. McCurdy very agreeable. Colonel

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pet is another stump, 5 or 6 feet high; the tree Sycamore or Buttonwood; measured 21 feet 11 inches; most of the body decayed. A thrifty Beech on the same ridge, the roots of which have run over an old stump of a large tree which was decayed on the surface of the ground, which measured 18 inches within the bark; had 136 circles.

"An Elm, about 60 feet N. of the same ridge, thrifty and sound, 3 feet 2 inches in Diam; 336 well-defined circles.

"A Poplar, about 10 feet from the Elm, thrifty and sound, 2 feet 8 inches in Diam.; 202 circles.

"That there might be no error in counting the circles, a magnifying glass was used, through which they were well defined. In all the trees that were examined, it was found that the circles were much more close near the heart than toward the circumference.

"On the elevated square, called Quadranaou, a thrifty white oak was cut down; 4 feet Diameter. The heart was decayed, but 219 circles, large and well defined, were counted by actual computation; there must have been 70 more; in the whole, 289 circles. On the same elevation are the traces of three ancient stumps, from 6 to 8 feet diameter; the bodies so far consumed as not to be traced."

This is indorsed, in the handwriting of General Rufus Putnam, "Minutes taken in the presence of Governor St. Clair, the Judges, etc."

* Francis Vigo was born in Sardinia, in 1747. He enlisted, when a boy, as a private soldier in a Spanish regiment, and came with it to New Orleans. He was here discharged, and commenced business as an Indian trader, first on the Arkansas River, and afterward in St. Louis. When George Rogers Clarke captured Kaskaskia, Colonel Vigo offered his services to him, and, with a single attendant, went to Vincennes and obtained the information which enabled General Clarke to capture that post in February, 1779. Colonel Vigo accompanied Clarke, and settled in Vincennes after its capture. He advanced large sums of money to clothe and feed General Clarke's destitute army. Although his account was approved by the Commissioners of Revolutionary Claims for Virginia, no part of it was ever repaid to him, and he died in poverty. In 1790, he was made Commandant of the Vincennes Militia, and in 1810 was one of General Harrison's confidential messengers to the Indians. He died at Vincennes, in 1836.—*See Laws Vincennes; Illustrated History Indiana.*

Sproat* dined with us. The Colonel and I returned in the evening. Very severe shower in the night.

Monday, Sept. 8. Expected to go up the river this morning, but Mons. Vigo could not get ready. Completed maps, etc. Several severe showers. Slept to-night in a wet bed, and wet sheets.

Tuesday, Sept. 9. Fine morning and day. Took my leave of the settlement at 9 o'clock. Mons. Vigo called for me at the Point. Fine, large boat, with keel and rudder, and ten oars, cabin and awning; good accommodations. Two men sick. Soon after we left the Point, saw the soldiers and a number of Indians, expected from Fort Pitt, coming down on the other side of Kerr's Island. We crossed the river and met them. Captain Zeigler commanded the Company of new levies of fifty-five men. There were about forty Indians, in canoes, lashed together. The soldiers were paraded in a very large boat—stood up on a platform and were properly paraded; with the American Flag in the stern. Just as we got up with them, they began to fire by platoons. After they had fired, the Indians fired from their canoes, singly, or rather, confusedly. The Indians had two small flags of thirteen stripes. They were answered from the Garrison by train, who fired three field-pieces; flag hoisted.† As M. Vigo had business to do with Mr. O'Hara, we landed on Kerr's Island, and M. Vigo, Captain Prather, and I went with him, back to the Garrison. I waited on the Governor. Dined with Captain McCurdy. He presented me with a pair of moccasins. The Indian Chief, the Cornplanter,* was the principal character among them. They were of the Six Nations. This information was from Mr. Joseph Nicholson, the Interpreter. He applied to me for land in our Purchase.

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* Ebenezer Sproat was born in Middleborough, Mass., in 1752. He entered the service in 1775, as Captain of a company in the tenth regiment of the Massachusetts line, and served through the war of the Revolution, attaining the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He came to Marietta with the first party, who arrived April 7, 1788, and was employed by the Ohio Company as a surveyor. He was the first Sheriff of Washington County, and held the office fourteen years, and was the first Colonel of Militia commissioned in the North-west Territory. He died, 1805.—*See Hildreth's Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio.*

† General Richard Butler, commissioner on the part of Pennsylvania, and Captain James O'Hara, the contractor, with Corn Planter and about fifty Senecas, arrive. They were escorted from Pitt by Captain Zeigler's company of recruits. They were received with a salute of three rounds of cannon and the music. Zeigler is a German; had been in Saxon service previous to our late war with England. He takes pride in having the handsomest company in the regiment; and, to do him justice, his company has always been considered the first in point of discipline and appearance.—*Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, September* 9, 1788.

At three o'clock we left the Garrison and returned to our boat. Went up the south side of Kerr's Island, passed the mouth of the Little Muskingum, and encamped for the night. Made fire on the shore, had a good dish of tea, and a French fricassee. The people slept on shore. Mons. Francis Vigo, Mons. Peter Hubert, Mons. Peter Menard, and Mr. Basil Prather, brother to the Mr. Prather where I lodged at Buffalo, slept on the quarter-deck very well. Fair day and evening. Four miles from Marietta.

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* Gyantwachia, the Cornplanter, a chief of the Seneca Nation, born at Conewaugus, on the Genesee River; a half-breed, the son of John O'Bail, a trader from Albany. At Braddock's defeat, in 1775, he fought on the side of the French; and during our Revolution, he was a war chief of high rank, and fought with the Six Nations against us. After the war, he became the warm friend of Washington and of the United States, and threw all his influence at the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort Harmar in favor of peace. He retired from public life, and devoted his labors to his own people. His son, Major Henry O'Bail, fought in the United States army in the war of 1812. At a meeting of the Agents of the Ohio Company at Marietta, February 9, 1789, it was resolved to grant to Gyantwachia and his heirs forever one mile square of the Donation Lands, but Cornplanter seems to have valued this only as an expression of good will toward himself. He lived on the west bank of the Alleghany River, on a reservation made to him by the State of Pennsylvania, and died at Cornplanter's Town, February 18, 1836. In his prime, he was six feet one inch in height, remarkably sedate, a "temperance man," exerting himself to suppress intemperance, and favoring the efforts of missionaries among his people. He supposed himself to be about 103 years old. The State of Pennsylvania has erected a monument to Cornplanter, with this inscription: "Chief of the Seneca tribe, and principal Chief of the Six Nations, from the period of the Revolutionary War to the time of his death. Distinguished for talent, courage, eloquence, sobriety, and love for his tribe and race, to whose welfare he devoted his time, his energies, and his means, during a long and eventful life."

Wednesday, Sept. 10. As soon as daylight appeared we were in motion. About eight we halted a few minutes for breakfast; ate cold pork, cabbage, and pickles. Mr. Prather and I took several walks on shore. Killed a raccoon, caught a great number of squirrels that were swimming across the river; saw some pigeons, but killed none. We halted at the upper end of the island, below Middle Island, to dine. Cooked our dinner—pork, squirrels, and a fine dish of strong coffee. We found plenty of grapes, small, but good, the vines very low; grew among the pebbles. Went on to the island and collected hops, honey-locust pods, etc. Saw garget, sow-thistle, etc. Examined several plants. Went on past Middle Island and encamped on the Virginia shore. Very foggy. Spoke a boat in the night from Wheeling to Muskingum. We saw fresh Indian signs on the island.

Thursday, Sept. 11. Foggy morning. Went on shore after pigeons, alone, met a bear and her cub in the path, fired at her with a small charge of pigeon-shot; they made off, the dog pursued them, and before I could get properly charged were gone. Killed one pigeon, and came on board at the bottom of Long Reach. After dinner, Mr. Prather and the negro, Eneas, went on shore with their guns. Just before encamping for the night found an Indian camp that had been left about one or two days—deer and turkey bones plenty. Eneas, who is an Indian negro, and well acquainted, says there were ten, and that they were gone up the river. This gave us an alarm, as we had not got so far up the Reach as to apprehend danger, if any. We were consulting about anchoring off in the river, when we saw a canoe coming down the river. We hailed the canoe. It was Williams and his negro, from Grave Creek, who told us he saw, about two miles above, five Indians on the shore, who were running very fast toward Fishing Creek, where he supposed they had a canoe, and intended to pursue him. We had several accounts at Muskingum of Indians seen at this place. Williams was extremely frightened, and trembled to such a degree as scarcely to be able to tell his story. This determined us to anchor off in the river after we had cooked our supper. Williams did not dare to go on, although we assured him there could be no danger, but came on board us, and tarried the night. We kept watch, but saw nothing. This place we found in the morning to be above the middle of Long Reach. Fine day, foggy night; some rain in the night.

Friday, Sept. 12. As soon as it was day-break, weighed anchor, and went up on the Indian side. Williams saw the Indians on the Virginia shore. As we were passing the upper island in Long Reach we saw, in the narrows about two miles above us, a canoe coming down. As soon as she discovered us, she seemed to put away for a point on the opposite shore, and was soon out of sight. It seemed to be full of men, who appeared like Indians. In a few minutes we saw the canoe paddling up very close to the shore, and shot above the point we were approaching and must pass. She had not been gone long before she fell down on the opposite shore, so far as just to see us, and then put up again as fast as possible. These movements were to us demonstration of their being Indians. Williams told us there were eighteen seen there a few days before, and part were stationed each side the river. We sent out Eneas to reconnoiter, and went to preparing ourselves for action. He soon returned and told us they were crossing to the side where we were, and he was positive they were Indians. We presumed their intention was to attack us, and to lie in ambush close to the river, as they knew we must pass close to the bushes on account of the current. It was determined to fight them. M. Vigo was all on fire to fight. We had fifteen men, but only fourteen guns. It was agreed as soon as we fired, to land and push upon them. I prevailed at length to throw out a flank guard to keep along just ahead of the boat, who would discover their ambush, and perhaps be able to give us notice before they fired upon us, which might save some of our men. Mr. Prather and the negro were desired to go; M. Vigo insisted on going with them. They went on shore, and were prepared to return the fire instantly, which we now expected every moment, as willows were very thick, and we at the place where they probably landed. As we passed along we saw frequently fresh moccasin tracks, which appeared to have been just made After rowing about one hour, every man with his accouterments on, and his gun at hand, expecting a shot at every moment, we came up with Fishing Creek, which was on the opposite side; the river pretty wide here. M. Vigo and the others returned and told us the canoe had landed up Fishing Creek, and they saw men on the shore go up to an old plantation, and one Indian remained in the canoe. Upon looking attentively, we could see the Indian from the boat, and presently saw two or three men on shore. M. Vigo declared he would go over and fight them. I did not like it very well, but he was determined. Before we had crossed the river the men appeared in full view. I soon knew them to be hunters that had been at the Muskingum. We hailed them, and found them to be the same people. We went to them and found they had been chasing a deer and a bear in the river, which occasioned those maneuvers. The bear they killed, and gave us what we wanted. Here we dined. Mr. Prather went up to a plantation, two miles above (where a man and four children had been killed four years ago), and got some fine peaches. We came on about eight or nine miles, and encamped on the Indian side. The hunters came on and encamped with us. Our fears of Indians were now vanished. Fine moonlight evening. Foggy toward morning. Caught cat-fish.

Saturday, Sept. 13. Under way as soon as it was light. We have lived very well. A bitter and a biscuit early in the morning; breakfast on cold meat. Stop between eleven and twelve and cook our dinner, always fresh meat, and a strong dish of coffee and loaf-sugar. Supper, cold meat and tea. M. Vigo is finely acccommodated with utensils, silver-handled knives and forks, and a proper traveling trunk for these utensils, and spirits. Our hunters came on with us. As we came up to Round Bottom, we were overtaken by the pirogue from Limestone, with ten paddles and thirteen men on board; kept with us for some ways. Another canoe with four men pushed off from the Indian shore. We went up to Grave Creek, where we encamped. Round Bottom is just below Grave Creek, and is owned by General Washington. We went up to the house and got corn, milk, etc.

Sunday, Sept. 14. Under way very early. Six miles to McMahon's, where we breakfasted on milk, eggs, butter, veal, etc.

Went on to Wheeling, arrived at half-past one, crossed over to the island. Dined on veal roasted in a pan by the sergeant's wife—very good. Went on four miles and encamped at the bank below a little house, where we got milk, etc. Fine night, but could not sleep.

Monday, Sept. 15. Fine morning; under way very early. Stopped and breakfasted at a little clump of houses on the Indian side. They were tomahawk settlers. Here the wind breezed up fresh at south-west. Hoasted a square sail; went on at a great rate against the stream. Preparing to go on shore. Mons. Vigo gave me a curious Indian belt, and a buffalo skin dressed with the hair on. Landed at Coxe's Fort at twelve. Dined at Mr. Prather's, where I took leave of my fellow travelers. Mr. Prather lent me a horse to go to Esq. Wells', where I found my horse in good plight. Paid him one dollar for keeping, and 9*s*. Penn. money. Lodged at Esq. Wells'.

Tuesday, Sept. 16. Rained in the morning. Went on to Alex. Wells', and breakfasted; one shilling, L. M. Tavern in the woods, ninepence, L. M. Lodged at a wretched tavern, one mile this side Washington. This is seventeen miles from Alex. Wells', who lives four from Charles Wells', seven miles from Coxe's Fort.

Wednesday, Sept. 17. Made my first stage at Parkinson's, eleven miles; breakfasted. Next at Parkinson's, at Devore's Ferry at Monongahela, eight miles; oats and ferriage, 10*d*., L. M. Went on to Sumrell's, at Youghiogheny River. Drank tea with Bartlett. Met Colonel Putnam,* from Pomfret. Lodged at Sumrell's.

Thursday, Sept. 18. Bill, eighteenpence, P. M. Went on to Mr. Mitchell's, four miles, where Jervis, who keeps school

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*This was Colonel Israel Putnam, eldest son of the famous Major-General Israel Putnam. He served on the staff of Major-General Putnam during the Revolutionary War. He came to Ohio in 1788, and selected a farm in Belpre, where he brought his family in 1795. "Colonel Putnam was a man of sound, vigorous mind, and remarkable for his plain common sense; abrupt and homely in his manners and address, but perfectly honest and upright in his intercourse with mankind."—*See Hildreth's Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio.*

in this neighborhood, boards. Andrew Story lives in the same house, and D. Brown lives near. Sam. Cushing went with me. Made arrangements for their going down the river. Paid Cushing twenty dollars; gave Jervis thirty dollars, to buy cows, etc. Dr. Story and brothers board here, but were gone to Pittsburg.

Friday, Sept. 19. This morning, rained. Breakfasted and set out for Greensborough, where Mr. Porter lives. Dined at Price's, in the center of the town. It is a Pennsylvania shiretown, which has had only two years' growth; a considerable number of new houses, tolerably good, situated on a hill. Bill, 3*s*. P. M. Went to Mr. Porter's, one mile north-east from the town, and sixteen miles from Mitchell's. Tarried all night. Set up and conversed the most of the night; very much rejoiced to see me. Fair and warm day.

Saturday, Sept. 20. Mrs. Porter went with me to Hannahstown, to see her daughter Sawyer. Spent some time at Sawyer's, and took my leave. Set out on my journey home. This is a small town, of miserable log huts, two miles from Porter's. Here I came into the Pittsburg road, and went on to Recard's, a Dutch tavern at Nine Mile Run (so called), eleven miles from Hannahstown, a very good house. Dined; 2*s*. 5*d*. P. M. This is at the foot of Chestnut Ridge. The hill is high, but not a very bad road, nor very fatiguing to ascend or descend; about five miles over. Went on to Ligonier, nine miles from Recard's. Put up at Bridges'. A good-looking but ill-natured landlady. Just before I came to the house, passed a pretty large stream, called the Loyal Hanna. Here was Fort Ligonier. Part of the old and of the new Fort remains.

Sunday, Sept. 21. Went on five miles to the foot of Laurel Mountain. Breakfasted on bread and milk at Bennet's; one shilling. Crossed the mountain; very rocky and steep ascent; descent more moderate. About six miles over the mountain; a vast prospect west from the top. Came on to Wells', eleven miles from Ligonier. Baited myself and horse; woman sick; bill paid by prescription. Went on to Stony Creek, at the foot of the Alleghany. Oated at Webster's, ten miles from Wells'. Passed the Creek; very stony and bad; and began to ascend the Alleghany Mountain; the ascent very gradual, but the road excessively rocky and miry. Lodged at a house on the Mountain, five miles from Webster's; not a tavern, but good feed for horses. Sheaffer, a Dutch or Irishman, I know not which. Families here going westward; kept badly. Found vast quantities of Ipecacuanha on a hill four miles this side Laurel Mountain. A cold night.

Monday, Sept. 22. Bill, 1*s.* 6*d.*, P. M. Started very early. Cold. Crossed the Alleghany Mountain; the ascent very moderate; the descent very steep for one mile, but the road good; very miry all the way over the Mountain, in places, until I came to the descent, which is very hard. It is fourteen miles over the Mountain. Breakfasted at Ryan's, twelve miles from Sheaffer's. This is a new and good house; bill, 2*s.* Went on to Bedford, to West's, twelve miles; bill, 1*s.* 3*d.* Called on Dr. Wall, and delivered my message from Mrs. Wells. Four miles beyond Bedford, I came into the Glade road to Bennet's tavern, and came on to Barndolloes, at Bloody Run. Came through Dunning's Slip, where the river divides Dunning Mountains, and in a short distance passed through another Slip, which divides Turris Mountain. The stream through Bedford is called Racetown Branch of the Juniata. The bridge on this side is over Dennis Creek. Barndolloes is seven miles from Bedford. A dear Dutch tavern; bill, 4*s.* 4*d.*, P. M.

Tuesday, Sept. 23. Started pretty early, and came on to Martin's, at the Juniata, seven miles, to breakfast; bill, 1*s.* 9*d.*, P. M. Three men overtook me, bound over the Mountain. Got one of them, at the top of Ray's Hill, to take my portmanteaux and put them on two led horses, as my horse was very lame. Stopped at Burd's, Fort Littleton, nineteen miles from Martin's; bill, 10*d.*, P. M. Proposed going to Skinner's, but after we had passed Tuscarora Mountain, found it would be impracticable; very dark and late. Stopped in a wretched cabin in Path Valley. Lodged on the floor, with only my buffalo skin for a mattress; slept tolerable. One gentleman from Bedford, and the other two men, lodged by my side. This is four miles from Burd's.

Wednesday, Sept. 24. Bill, 1*s.* 6*d.* P. M. We started about an hour before day; bright moon. A man who lived in the house went with us; found him very agreeable. Most delightful and romantic view of the clouds in the valley. Went over to Skinner's, where I took my carriage, four miles from the cabin. Breakfasted at Skinner's. A serious sweat over the mountain. Dined at Shippy's, in Shippensburg. Good house, but rather too genteel. Went on to McCracken's, seven miles, and oated; 6*d*., P. M. Went on to Sample's and lodged, seven miles; good house. Fellow played well on the violin. This is fourteen miles from Shippensburg. Fine day.

Thursday, *Sept.* 25. Set out early. Breakfasted at Carlisle, Foster's; bill, 1*s*. 9*d*.; my horse shod, 2*s*., P. M.; bought hat, eight dollars. This town has 280 houses. Went on eight miles to Walker's, and oated; 8*d*. Went on six miles, and then left the road I went up in, and instead of crossing the Susquehannah at Harrisburg, turned to the right and crossed three miles below. Got some most excellent fruit at the Forks of the road. Dined at the Ferry, before I crossed, at Farrar's, a new tavern-keeper, and very attentive; bill and ferriage, 3*s*. 4*d*. Went on to Middletown, a small village near the Susquehanna. Lodged at Moore's, sign Highlanders, Grant and Montgomery; bill, 2*s*. 3*d*., P. M. Fine day. Middletown is twenty-six miles from Carlisle.

Friday, *Sept*. 26. Did not set out until after sunrise. Crossed a large creek, in less than a mile from town, Sweet Annon Creek, and in six miles, Cannawaga Creek. Went on to Elizabethtown, eight miles from Middletown, and breakfasted at Scott's. This is a small clump of houses, on poor land, though there is one pretty large brick house and one large stone house. Road very hilly and rocky; very bad. It seems to be over the remains of South Mountain, which butts on the Susquehannah, and then extends a little over the river. This ridge divides Chamberstown from Shippensburg, etc., and seems to run for a long way nearly parallel with the Blue Mountain. Bill, 1*s*. 6*d*., P. M. After I left this road, it was rather rocky for three miles, then pretty good. Rode nine miles, and put up at Parren's, in Reffoo Township, at Big Chickees; passed Little Chickees some ways back. Landlady gave me Jerusalem cherries, and Vandaver's Apple, fine summer Sweetings; bill, 1*s.* 6*d.* Went on to Lancaster, nine miles. Road good. A great number of wagons with flour for Newport, where it is shipped for Philadelphia. Lancaster is a large and ancient town; the best built inland town in America. It is laid out, like all the Pennsylvania towns, in rather a square form. The land is high, as I approached the town, but level; fine for building. At the part where I entered, are the old Brick Barracks, and Commissary's Store, Powder-house, etc., all out of repair. Passed down Queen's Street to the Court-house, which stands in the center of the squares of the town, where four angles are formed, like Carlisle, the streets coming up in the center of the sides of the square. Court-house not large, but the most elegant I have ever seen; handsome fronts and ends, all four nearly alike, and a pretty cupola. Three other steeples in the town. The churches not large; a Lutheran church, a tower without a steeple, is the largest. It is built of brick and elegant, a little south of King Street, which is a very handsome street, with many brick houses, three stories, and neat. Turned at the Court-house into this street. Stopped at Jourdin's, sign General Washington, the best tavern, very good. Oated and had my hair dressed. Bill, 9*d.*, L. M.; barber, 7*d.*, L. M. King Street is the handsomest in the town. There are 180 taverns or licensed houses of all descriptions. The town is situated, very injudiciously, in rather a valley; high land, fine for building, west, north, and east. One or two other churches, with considerable steeples. A great number of small timber (filled with brick) built Dutch houses about the town, and the beginning of Queen Street. Came on two miles, and crossed Conestoga Creek; not deep at this time; a good bridge building over it. Lodged at the foot of the bridge, east side, at Witmar's, a very good Dutch tavern; bill, 3*s.* 7*d.*, P. M. Lancaster is sixty-six miles from Philadelphia.

Saturday, Sept. 27. Rose this morning an hour before day and set out just at day-break; rode ten miles, good roads, and breakfasted at the sign of the Indian Chief—Skiles, Lacock Township. Bill, 1*s.* 6*d.* P. M. Went on to the sign of the Tree, near the sign of the Wagon. Dined at Whitecar's, thirteen miles. Roads excessively bad—hills, rocks, and gulleys. Went on to Millstown (rightly so called); stopped at the sign of General Washington—Downing; eight miles, road excessive bad. Bill, 9*d*. P. M. Went on nine miles, to the sign of the Hunting Chase—Quin's—and lodged. Tolerable; a new tavern. Bill at Quin's, 2*s*. 7*d*. P. Money.

Sunday, Sept. 28. Set out just as the sun rose. Horse rather lame, roads not good, breakfasted at the sign of the Bear—Philip's; 1*s*. 6*d*. P. M. Seven miles and a half from Quin's. Went on ten and a half miles to McFaa's and dined; less than ten miles to Philadelphia (miserable). Roads bad, hills and dales, some rocks. Bill at McFaa's, 2*s*. 6*d*. Went on to Philadelphia, and crossed the Schuylkill at the Middle Bridge. Toll, 9*d*. The bridge floats; is very good. The street from the bridge leads directly to Market Street. Put up at the Indian Queen, in Fourth Street, a little south of the head of the market. Wrote to Mrs. Cutler. Walked the length of Front and Second Streets.

Monday, Sept. 29. Rose early, left my letters, called on Messrs. Hews and Anthony, Mr. Bryson, Dr. Clarkson, and others. Viewed the new court-house, manufactories, etc. Finished my business by five, and ordered my horse. Bill, 16*s*. 7*d*. Left Thompson's and came out of the city after the lamps were lighted. Began to rain; intended to come on ten miles to the Washington tavern, but the rain increased, and became like a thunder storm, which obliged me to stop at Frankfort. Put up at Paul's. Rained very hard all night.

Tuesday, Sept. 30. Broke away in the morning, but still cloudy, wind high at north-east. Bill, 3*s*. 2*d*. Went on, roads extremely wet, traveling very heavy. Breakfasted. Bill, 2*s*. 2*d*. At ferry, oats 6*d*., toll bridge, 9*d*. At Dowdnes, in Bristol, 9*d*. Dined at Morton's, 2*s*. 2*d*. Ferry over Delaware, at Trenton, 1*s*. 6*d*. Lodged at Smith's in Maidenhead. Bill, 5*s*. 10*d*. Rode to-day thirty-four miles. Wind high at north-east.

Wednesday, Oct. 1. My horse very stiff. Hired Smith's horse to Brunswick, and a boy to fetch him back, for 7*s*. 6*d*., twenty-four miles. Arrived at Brunswick at twelve. Gave out at Kingston, three miles this side of Princetown. Bill, 8*d*. Bill and ferry at Brunswick, 7*s*. Went on to Woodbridge ten miles. Bill at Cross-Keys, 9*d.* Went on to Elizabethtown and lodged. Bill at Prentice's, 5*s.* 6*d.* Wind very high and disagreeable at north-east. No rain.

Thursday, Oct. 2. Went on early this morning. Breakfasted in Newark, at Redding's, 2*s.* 9*d.*; first ferry, 1*s.* 6*d.*; the second ferry, 2*s.* Ferry from Powles Hook to New York, 4*s.* ½*d.* This is fifteen miles from Elizabethtown. Put up my horse at the stage-house in the street leading from Ordway's Market to Powles Hook Ferry. Delivered letters at the War Office; called on Colonel Platt; dined with him, Duer, Combs, Colonel Wadsworth, and Colonel Tallmadge, etc., in company. Went to Mr. Henderson's and lodged.

Friday, Oct. 3. Very busy. Breakfasted and dined with Mr. Henderson; called on Mr. Atkinson; supped with Colonel Tallmadge and lady at Mr. Delafield's. Called on many of my old friends. Lodged at Mr. Henderson's.

Saturday, Oct. 4. Breakfasted with Platt. Dined with Mr. Atkinson. Had a conference with Duer and Platt at the Board of Treasury Office, which closed my business in the city. Had my watch cleaned, 5*s.*; crystal, 2*s*; cap, 2*s.* Bill for my horse, 9*s.* 9*d.* Left the city at half-past five P. M. Came on to Hiate's, at King's Bridge, fifteen miles, and lodged. Good house. Bill, 4*s.* All the above York Money.

Sunday, Oct. 5. Went on to Guion's, East Chester, six miles, and breakfasted; very good breakfast, 2*s.* 6*d.* Y. M. Went on to Mrs. Haviland's, eleven miles, and dined. Met my lady riding out on horseback, gaily dressed, and horse richly caparisoned. A dinner set in high style. Bill, 3*s.* Y. Money. Went on to Stamford and stopped a few minutes. Bill, 1*s.* Y. M. Went on to Norwalk, lost my way in the night, and went two miles in a wrong and bad road. Arrived at Wentworth's at 9 o'clock and lodged. Bill, 2*s.* 4*d.* L. M. Eighteen miles from widow Haviland's.

Monday, Oct. 6. Went on to Fairfield to breakfast, thirteen miles. Training. Much disturbed last night with the firing of guns. Bill at Fairfield, 2*s.* L. M. Went on to Stratford. Bill, 6*d.* Training, troops appeared well. Ferry, 2*s.* 6*d.* West Haven, a good country dinner on fish. Landlady very motherly. Bill, 1*s.* 6*d.* Went on to New Haven and put up at

Atwater's; very obliging. Called on Dr. Stiles; he and his lady gone to Newport. Rambled about town and revived old ideas. Bill, 2*s.* 2*d.*

Tuesday, Oct. 7. Began to rain in the morning; detained me some time to get my baggage and carriage in order. Went on to North Haven; good breakfast. Bill, 1*s.* 6*d.* Went on the old road to Hartford, stopped a little beyond Wallingford at a miserable tavern, eighteen miles from New Haven. Rained excessive hard. Went on to Fuller's, in Berlin. It rained so hard I put up nine miles from my last stage, and thirteen from Hartford. Dined and lodged. The landlord has all the attributes of a Connecticut tavern-keeper in perfection. A most impertinent rascal—reminded me of a man that I knew at the Vineyard, but keeps a good house. I was well entertained; a room, good fire, pipe and tobacco, and good cider. But I expect to pay for it well in the morning. Had my horse shod behind by him. Bill for the horse-shoeing, and my expense, 6*s.*

Wednesday, Oct. 8. Went on to Hartford. Breakfasted at Bull's. Captain Pratt called upon me. Bill, 1*s.* 9*d.* Ferry, 1*s.* 2*d.* Made my next stage ten miles—Woodbridge's. Dined. Bill, 1*s.* 6*d.* Met with two men going to Ashford. One of them consented to exchange horses; put his horse (small but good) into my carriage. Went on to Dunham's tavern, in Mansfield, thirteen miles, and lodged. Gave him refreshments, oats, and a pistereen. What I gave him and my expense here, 3*s.* 4*d.*

Thursday, Oct. 9. Went on this morning to Esquire Clark's tavern, eight miles, and breakfasted, 1*s.* 2*d.* Went on to Grosvenor's, ten miles, and dined. Before I got to this house, coming down the Ashford hills, one of the shafts of my sulky gave way. Mending it, 8*d.* Went on to my Father's.

Friday, Oct. 10. A great number of people in to see me. Many people are gone, and more are going from this place to Muskingum. Had my shaft better secured, 2*s.* 4*d.* Visited Mr. Atkins.

Saturday, Oct. 11. This morning set out very early for

Dedham. Ephraim * put a horse in my carriage, and went with me to bring him back. Very rainy, wind north-east. Stopped at Owens', 2*s*. Next stage at Arnold's, 1*s*. 6*d*. Ephraim came on to Franklin, and then returned. I came on to Leftbridge's, 9*d*. Downs', in Walpole, 9*d*. Very rainy. Arrived at Mr. Chickering's about 10 o'clock, and had the happiness to find Mrs. Cutler. Exceedingly wet and fatigued.

Sunday, Oct. 12. Preached for Mr. Chickering all day. Much unwell. In the evening several people in.

Monday, Oct. 13. Went over to Mr. Dean's with Mrs. Cutler and spent the day and night.

Tuesday, Oct. 14. Returned to Mr. Chickering's and set out for home. Sam'l Dean put Brother Dean's horse in my chaise and came with us. Stopped at Mr. Curtis'. Dined at Mr. Williams', and tarried all night.

Wednesday, Oct. 15. Set out for home. Expense at the two bridges, 2*s*. 10*d*. Came on to Newhall's. My horse appeared to be not well. He had got loose the evening before in his stable in Boston, and got to an hogshead of oats, and eat a prodigious quantity, but I rather thought the symptoms were those of bots, and gave him up for dead. Got a horse at Newhall's and came home. Expense at Newhall's, 7*s*., at Beverly bridge, 1*s*. 6*d*. Arrived at home about 10 o'clock at night, having been absent twelve weeks and two days. Found my family well. My horse bore the journey remarkably well, though he lost flesh considerably, yet he had never lost his spirits. He is certainly one of the best horses in the country, for my baggage was remarkably heavy; it astonished every tavern-keeper who unharnessed or harnessed my horse.

Saturday, Oct. 18. Sent for my horse and got him home.

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* Ephraim Cutler, Dr. Cutler's eldest son, born April 13, 1767; was brought up by his grandfather, Hezekiah Cutler, in Connecticut; he removed to the North-west Territory in 1795, where he engaged in surveying and farming. He received the appointment of Judge and other offices from Governor St. Clair; was elected to the Territorial legislature and to the convention which formed the constitution of Ohio in 1802. Judge Cutler was a member of the state legislature, 1819–25, where he labored to establish free schools and an *ad valorem* system of taxation. His long and useful life closed July 8, 1853.

Oct. 20–21. Setting matters to rights about the Parish.

Oct. 24–25. Company all day.

Lord's Day, Oct. 26. Mr. Breck preached for me.

Thursday, Oct. 30. Lecture. Mr. Huntington preached.

Friday, Oct. 31. Mr. Smith, of Middleton, spent the day and part of the evening here.

Tuesday, Nov. 4. Quarterly Fast here. Very pleasant. Messrs. Frisbie, Cleaveland, Dana, and Swain present. Captain Cummings, now 97 years old, was at meeting, and tarried with us all night.

Nov. 6–8. Busy putting my garden in repair.

Lord's Day, Nov. 16. I supplied Mr. Story at Squam. Mr. Dana preached here, who was supplied by Mr. D. Story.

Wednesday, Nov. 19. Mr. Story came here on his way to Muskingum. Very busy in preparing letters and papers to send by him.

Thursday, Nov. 20. Busy writing letters, etc., for Muskingum.

Friday, Nov. 21. Got ready for Mr. Story to set out. He went away about 12 o'clock. Mr. Prince came just before he set out and dined with us.

[The departure of this herald of the Cross was the first step toward establishing "religion, morality, and knowledge" in the great North-west. Many of the Directors and Agents, as well as proprietors of the Ohio Company, expected to make their home in the settlement now begun on the banks of the Muskingum, and they did not propose to leave behind them the religious and educational privileges to which they were accustomed, but resolved to transplant them to this new soil in the wilderness.

It was Dr. Cutler's first care on his return to Massachusetts to seek and secure the services of a gospel minister for the new settlement. Remote as it was from other civilized communities, and exposed to attacks from hostile Indians, it was not an attractive field to one familiar with the refinements and comforts of an eastern pastorate, nor was it easy to find a man competent and willing to occupy it. Happily Mr. Daniel Story, who had been preaching in Worcester, consented to go. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, and a member of a family distinguished for ability. His sermons, carefully prepared, logical in style, and practical in their teachings, his pleasing address and courteous manners, had made him already favorably known.

Perhaps, if the tall, slender, cultivated young man, who left Dr. Cutler's door that November day to proceed on his lifelong mission, could have foreseen the hardships which awaited him at that far-off western post, his courage might have failed.

The winter was an unfavorable season for a long, tedious journey across the mountain, and the spring was somewhat advanced, in 1789, before Mr. Story arrived at Marietta, where a very cordial welcome met him.]

[*To General R. Putnam.*]

IPSWICH, *Nov.* 18, 1788.

Dear Sir:—This will be handed to you by Mr. Daniel Story, whom I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance, in the character of a Preacher, and I hope he will be very agreeable to you and to the people. He has ever supported a respectable character in private life, and as a minister of the Gospel. The terms on which he goes into the country are that his board be given him; that he draw from the funds raised to support preaching four dollars in silver per week; that he be permitted to improve, if he pleases, a part of the lands near the city granted for religious purposes; that the people be requested to assist in clearing and cultivating them, so far, at least, as shall render his pay equal to five dollars per week; and that he be allowed a reasonable compensation for his expenses in going into the country. These were the lowest terms on which he would consent to go. He could have his board and five dollars per week here, and constant employ. As he must lose several Sabbaths in going into the country, he conceived it reasonable that he should have a consideration for his expenses. There is no other person, of a respectable character, I could engage on better terms. This is to be his pay until other terms should be agreed on between him and the Directors or the people; or that he should no longer continue to preach to them. Colonel Platt was so engaged while I was in New York, that I could not find the amount of the fund for preaching and schools; there is, however, a considerable sum. Colonel Tallmadge told me he had collected a considerable sum, which he should pay into the treasury. I presume money may be drawn at any time by order of the Directors.

Mr. Rogers has concluded not to return, and I wish the school may be given to Mr. William Dodge, that he be considered as a Grammar Master, but that he take scholars of every description for the present. That the directors, or, if a meeting of them can not be held, that you will be so good as to contract with him, as I am uncertain what wages would be reasonable. . . .

On my return home I found several letters from different parts of Europe. The most of them request me to send a particular account of the Ancient Works found in North America. These works seem to have engaged the attention of the literati in Europe, and I wish to gratify those with whom I have the honor to correspond, as far as possible. I must beg you to forward to me the surveys of the works at Marietta. Accurate measurements I find to be of consequence in their minds; pray attend to the width of the openings, and to the distances and relative situations of all the works, to one another.

I have requested Colonel Platt to forward a sum, raised for the support of Preachers and School-masters, to the Directors at Muskingum, of 200 dollars (if he has so much on hand), which will enable you to pay the Preacher and Schoolmaster for the present. I have advanced to Mr. Story six dollars and two-thirds, on account, which you will deduct from his wages.

When you return in the winter I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you.

I am, with the greatest sincerity, your friend and humble serv't,
M. Cutler.

[*To Major Winthrop Sargent.*]

Ipswich, *Nov.* 19, 1788.

My Dear Sir:—Should this letter be handed you at Marietta, I beg leave to introduce to your civilities the bearer, Mr. Daniel

Story, who goes into the country in the character of a clergyman, which he has ever supported with reputation.

On my return I found a large package from the Chevalier Murray, Professor of Botany and Materia Medica in the University in Göttingen (Germany). He desires me to favor him with an account of the Ancient Works found in this country, particularly their forms and dimensions. Those at Muskingum I shall be able pretty well to ascertain. You will favor me by sending me the dimensions of the Mound at Grave Creek, particularly the height, which I think you measured; also a description of any other works down the river. Mr. Pennant, the famous Scotch Zoologist, has requested me to send him specimens of shells of the several species of animals of that class found in the seas, lakes, and rivers of North America. If you should find any curious shells in your excursions down the river, and would send them to my son at Marietta, you will much oblige me.

I have the pleasure of informing you that you was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at their meeting in August last.

Governor St. Clair mentioned to me some Ancient Works of stone and lime far down the Ohio. I will beg of you to present to him my most respectful compliments, and to inquire where those works are situated, the particulars respecting them which he may be possessed of, and any thing further of which you may be informed down the river. It is my intention to write to him and to you on the subject of the University in the course of the winter.

I am yours,
Most sincerely,
M. CUTLER.

MAJOR SARGENT.

CHAPTER X.

Letter from General Parsons—Correspondence of Putnam and Cutler—Directors' Instructions to Putnam and Cutler—Letter to Sargent—Putnam's Letter—Diary, 1790—Letters—Diary, 1791.

Marietta, *Dec.* 11, 1788.

Dear Sir:—I can not longer neglect to inform you of the occurrences which have taken place here since you left us. The surveys of the 8 acre, 3 acre, and City Lots being completed, and the expectation of a Treaty still continuing, all further surveys were suspended until about five weeks ago, when we all concurred in an Order to extend four of our Town Lines to the 11th Range; and, Judge Varnum dissenting, two of the Directors extended this Order to the 12th, being 24 miles west, and to survey the meanders of the Ohio as far as to meet the Cross Lines in their South Direction. The meanders of the River, and the first and second Lines to the 12th Range are completed, the 3d and 4th, on a Treaty, being rendered certain and soon to commence, are, at the desire of the Governor, suspended for the present. The Line commencing 6 miles on the 7th Range appears nearly to terminate the River Hills, and after passing about 4 miles West of the Muskingum exhibits an excellent campaign Country, very fertile and well watered. The other Line passes over the River Hills through a broken Country, interspersed with good Lands and rich Bottoms, but not of so great present use as the Lands further north. In this Line is found excellent Iron Ore—being burnt and pulverized nearly ½ is attracted by the magnet. It appears to be in great Plenty. The Treaty has just commenced, and upon the close we will pursue our Surveys.

The time of the meeting of the Proprietors having arrived, a number sufficient to proceed did not appear; an adjournment took place, at which time 140 Shares only appeared personally, and by special authority, Colonel Crary not having then arrived. We then proceeded to take the Opinion of the Proprietors present on the subject of granting Lands to Settlers, and altering the former mode of dividing our Lands agreed upon by the Agents at Boston. They (five shares only dissenting) gave it as their Opinion that it was a matter well within the Authority of the General Agents, and requested them to take up the matter and to grant Lands to Settlers, not exceeding 100 acres, out of each share, and to divide the common Estate in such manner as would be most conducive to the common Interest without respect to former votes. The Agents have taken up the subject, 957 Shares being represented, and Colonel Crary being Chairman, voted (214 Shares represented by Colonel Crary excepted), unanimously, to make grants of Lands to encourage Settlement, not exceeding 100 acres to each share in the funds, and appointed a Committee to reconnoiter the Country, and affix the proper places for that purpose, repealed the votes ordering the Mode of Division, and directed the Committee to examine where are proper places to divide farms to the Proprietors. You see we have decided the main point that we will give. I believe I ought to say we were unanimous on this question, for, altho' Colonel Crary would not vote for it, he publicly declared that he was fully in Opinion with us on the general question. Judge Varnum appears the only dissatisfied person, but he is now so far advanced in the stages of a confirmed Consumption that nothing ought to be remembered against him. I think it more probable he will die within a month than that he will ever recover. He intends setting out for Orleans in a few days as the only remaining Expedient for his recovery.

The Settlers here appear highly satisfied with the measures we have taken, and very many will go out to those Lands. As they must be settled in the spring, or early next summer, it will be necessary for as many as wish to receive the Donations to be out as soon as possible. We have had an addition of about 100 within two weeks, and more are expected. We are constantly putting up buildings, but arrivals are faster than we can provide convenient covering. Between 40 and 50 Houses are so far done as to receive families, and 10 more are in building, about one-half of which I expect will be able to receive families next week.

We still continue our Sabbath Exercises, and last Monday we had the first Ball in our Country, at which were present 15 Ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles as any I have seen in the old States. I mention this to show the progress of Society in this distant Country. I believe we shall vie with, if not excell, the old States in every accomplishment necessary to render life happy. My wife has beat a parley, and submitted a prisoner of war; she agrees to send one of our daughters next summer, and with the family to remove when I can make it convenient. This, you know, must give me great satisfaction. I think, Sir, your Return here is not only necessary, but that you will be received with great Cordiality by all our Citizens. I am convinced Judge Varnum will never return; when all animosity will cease.

We continue to enjoy health and peace, and I have Reason to hope all matters will be settled with the Indians. They continue to say they have no objection to this settlement, and that we are much more acceptable to them than any Settlers with whom they have been before acquainted. If you intend the vote to close all payments in June shall be extended to a further Time, you must be here, or at least bring Sargent and Putnam to support it. I shall agree for myself and Barlow; the votes will then stand:

		Sargent,	166		
		Cutler,	151		
Perhaps Dodge,	17	Parsons,	123		
May,	36	Putnam,	65	Contra,	
Tallmadge,	47	Harris,	43	Rhode Island,	257
	100		548		

The weather continues very fine. I finished sowing my grain this Day. No snow.

I am, with great esteem and respect,

Yr. ob't serv't,

SAM. H. PARSONS.

23d Jan'y, 1789. My letter not having met the expected Conveyance, Mr. Oliver having altered his mind, I can now inform you that the Treaty ended the 17th, to the satisfaction of all concerned, and we still continue in peace, and have a prospect of remaining so. Judge Varnum left this world, in which he was very unhappy, the 10th inst., for a better, I hope, where he will enjoy a Tranquillity to which he was a stranger here. He was buried the 14th with great Decency, not less than 200 men attended in the Procession; the Masons. Cincinnati, civil Officers, and those of the Militia, formed part of the Procession.

We chose another Director, the 19th, when the choice fell on Griffen Greene, Esq.,* from Rhode Island, in exclusion of Colonel Crary. Votes for Mr. Greene, 566; for Colonel Crary, 124. Mr. Greene has made himself very agreeable to us since he has been here; appears much of the Gentleman, and a person of great Candor. Br. Crary is much mortified, and is about protesting against the Choice. I feel sorry for his mortification; I was the only person voting for him, but I own I am well pleased with Mr. Greene. Our animosities have subsided, and all appear friendly.

We have ordered a Division to the Proprietors of 160 acres to each Right to be drawn the 3d Tuesday of March, within the settling Rights. We have voted to give 200 settling Rights to Non-proprietors before the first of Oct'r, and those Proprietors who by that time will agree to settle their own Rights by

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*Griffen Greene was born in Warwick, Rhode Island, 1749. He served during the Revolution as Commissary to the Rhode Island troops, Paymaster and Assistant-Quartermaster when his cousin, General Nathaniel Greene, was Quartermaster-General of the Army. He came with his family to Marietta in 1788, and was appointed by Governor St. Clair, Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions. In 1802 he was appointed by President Jefferson, Postmaster at Marietta, Revenue Collector for that district, and Inspector of the Port, ships being then cleared from that place. He died in 1804. Mr. Greene, in 1795, contructed the model for a steam-engine, to be used in propelling boats on the Ohio River. With Mr. Elijah Backus he expended a considerable sum in building an engine in Philadelphia. It proved a failure, by reason of defects in the construction.—*See Hildreth's Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio.*

themselves, or others, shall have Right so to do—if any more vacant Rights at that time they shall aslo be given to settlers. The Duties are five years' residence on the Donation lands, within that time to build a House, at least 24 by 18 feet, a stone or brick chimney, a cellar, and to clear twenty acres within three years, to set out 50 apple Trees and 20 peach Trees, and obey all militia laws.

I beg you will come on as soon as possible; we all want you, I am sure you will be welcome, I can preach no longer for you. Deacon Story does very well, but on the public Thanksgiving I was obliged for the first time to preach, much against my will, from Psalm 103, v. 2, and such a piece of work I believe you never heard; I am sure I never did. To confirm my wife in her faith I have sent it to her perusal.

Y'r friend, S. H. P.

[*To Rev. Mr. Cutler by Captain Dodge.*]

MARIETTA, *March* 25, 1789.

Dear Sir:—Before this reaches you I presume you will see the proceedings of the Company relative to promoting a settlement in the Country, as they were some time since forwarded to Colonel Platt, with an order to publish them in the papers, and I hope they will meet your approbation, as well as every other proprietor. For what has been done in consequence of them, I must refer you to Captain Dodge for information.

Mr. Story has been with us one Sabbath. By him I received your favor of the 18th of November last. We rejoice much at his arrival, and I trust we shall make his situation agreeable. . . . With respect to the Indians in this quarter, I must also refer you to Captain Dodge. Mr. Ludlow arrived yesterday from Judge Symmes' Settlement at the Miami; the Indians are friendly in that quarter, and come in to trade. Mr. Ludlow * has surveyed the Ohio down to the Scioto River, and

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* Israel Ludlow, afterward prominent among the early citizens of Cincinnati, was then in the employ of the United States Government as a Surveyor, and was engaged, under direction of Captain Thomas Hutchins, Surveyor-General, in running the exterior lines of the lands purchased by the Ohio Company, by Cutler and Sargent for the Scioto Associates, and by Judge Symmes.

Mr. Martain has taken the meanders of the Scioto 60 or 70 miles up. In two or three weeks Mr. Ludlow will begin the survey of the Northern Boundary line of the whole Purchase. By these measures you will perceive the necessity we are under to be ready as soon as possible to make the second payment.

Mr. Ludlow gives a most flattering description of the Ohio Company's land down the River, and, among other things, informs us that our lands will extend west within 27½ miles of the mouth of the Scioto River, and the Great Salt Spring on the eastern waters of the Scioto will certainly be ours. But it is now half-past one in the morning of the 26th of March, and I can add no more, but that I am, with the most perfect esteem,

Sir, your Friend and very humble servant,

MR. CUTLER. RUFUS PUTNAM.

[*To General Putnam.*]

IPSWICH, *April* 9, 1789.

Dear Sir:—I have been disappointed in not receiving a line from you since I left Marietta, but I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from Judge Parsons a few days ago of Jan. 23d, since which Giddings, of this town, has arrived, who left Marietta the 27th of Feb., but brought no letters. It gave me much pleasure to be informed by General Parsons that you decided, on the question, in favor of giving lands for the encouragement of settlers, which I find gives great satisfaction to adventurers. The proposal for making such a grant has been approved, by every person concerned in the company, that I have seen since my return. . . .

The favorable termination of the treaty has also had a very good effect. There are a considerable number of families in this neighborhood that will sell out in the course of the summer, and within these ten days I have had application for shares. Many who have paid only part begin to make exertions for completing their payments, but I have not yet received 500 dollars in securities since my return.

If the time for closing the payments is not extended beyond June, my agency will stand nearly as in the statement I sent you, about one-half deficient. I most ardently wish to close my agency then, as I have had quite as much trouble as

I wish to have in the matter, but I am fully convinced it will be injurious to the Company.

To attempt a forfeiture of the money of those who have paid only part, will give great uneasiness, and raise a prodigious clamor against the Company. If I give up my agency then, I shall insist on as many shares as the aggregate of the moneys which I have paid will purchase, and shall make arrangements accordingly. Another difficulty in making payments has been the rise of securities, at first occasioned by a Dutch speculation to a great amount, since by a general (but stupid) belief that the new Congress will pay the interest in hard money. They are now from 4*s*. 6*d*. to 5*s*., but those who are best informed are confident that the new Congress will make no other establishment for the payment of the Domestic debt than the western lands; that principals and interests will be received in payment; for if the interest was to be paid in silver the domestic debt would be immediately transferred to a foreign one; that Congress had better pay 6*s*. to her own subjects in lands than 2*s*. to foreigners in coin. Should Congress confirm the former establishment for paying the domestic debt, and admit indents, securities would instantly fall, and we should meet with no difficulty in collecting the remainder of our money. . . .

In this state of things I am clearly of opinion it would be for the interest of the company to extend the time until September, which will be as early as we can expect to know the determinations of Congress, and for those determinations to have any effect. There are several other agencies in the same dilemma with my own, though they are not so large.

I beg you to mention the matter to Major Sargent, as the bearer, who is now waiting, will not tarry for me to write to him. Those who paid their money need be under no anxiety about their deeds, if they know the money is paid into the treasury, for the contract already made secures the lands as effectually as any deeds that can be given by Congress.

It slipped my mind, when I began my letter, that I received a letter from you by Mr. Witham. . . . He gives our purchase the preference to Symmes'. I am extremely mortified to hear that Mr. Daniel Story has made so slow progress into the country. He set out, I think, about the last of Nov., and I hear had not arrived the last of Feb. . . .

I can only add that I am yours,

Most affectionately,

M. Cutler.

Copy of Instructions to R. Putnam and M. Cutler.

At a Meeting of the Directors of the Ohio Company, May 6, 1789.

Present: Sam'l Holden Parsons, Rufus Putnam, Griffin Greene, Esquires.

Ordered: That Rufus Putnam, Esq., and Mr. M. Cutler be, and they are hereby, empowered, in the behalf of the Directors, to make such application to Congress as they shall judge proper, either for the grant of lot No. 29, in the second Township in the 8th Range to the proprietors of the Ohio Company, which interferes with the building of their first Town, or for the exchange of lot No. 29 for lot No. 8, or some other lands, to make such application to Congress as they shall judge expedient for procuring a charter for the University, and for the encouragement of learning in this settlement. That they take effectual measures for closing all the accounts of the Agents on the Treasurer's books, and for the speedy collection of any moneys that may remain due. And if any shares shall not be paid for, they are empowered to assume those shares on the Company's Acct., and to negotiate those shares with Congress, or dispose of them to the best advantage, in order that a settlement may immediately be made with Congress. They are also empowered to receive of the Treasurer the moneys and army warrants which have been paid for shares, and to pay the same to the United States, in order that the contract of the Company be fulfilled. And they are to act and do whatever they shall find necessary in order to obtain a deed of the lands purchased. And if a deed can not otherwise be obtained, they are empowered to give security for such sum as may be deficient after the payment of the moneys received. And all orders drawn and all accounts of Agents and Subscribers settled and closed by them shall be held good and valid. And for their doings they are to Acco't with this board.

(Signed,) W. SARGENT,
Sec'y of the Ohio Company.

[*General Putnam to Dr. Cutler.* (*Honored by Captain Dana.*)]

MARIETTA, *May* 16, 1789.

Dear and Reverend Sir:—Your favor of the 9th ult. came to hand a few days since, on the subject of collecting the subscriptions, etc. Judge Parsons, Mr. Justice Greene, and myself have wrote you officially, as Directors, by the same conveyance as this; therefore, shall only add that I never had an idea that the money paid by any subscriber should be forfeited, but that every agent would have a deed for the aggregate quantity of lands he paid for, the same making a certain number of shares, and that he should arrange the matter among his subscribers in such manner as he thought proper, and you will perceive by our letter that we all conceive the matter in the same light.

The Resolve of the Company in July last did no more, in my opinion, than to put an end to the claim of delinquent subscribers for having their moneys received in preference to other men, who had not subscribed, and by this means removed the embarrassment which you and others were under, and must have continued under, without that vote to sell shares to non-subscribers whenever you had an opportunity, for money in hand, without the consent of A. and B., who had subscribed and not paid. That Resolve also placed the lands not paid for by the first of June where they ought to be, viz., in the hands of the Directors as a fund to raise money in the best manner they can for the purpose of discharging the contract with Congress in a proper time. This, also, you will perceive, is our joint opinion, as we have requested you to inspect into the collections made by agents in your neighborhood, and to push them to as speedy a collection as possible. This, you are sensible, must be for our interest. For my own part, I wish to see the business closed. Mr. Ludlow has been on the northern boundary three weeks or more. We have reason to expect that in three or four weeks more that survey will be completed.

You say the contract already made secures the lands as effectually as any deed that can be given by Congress. I suppose you mean to 750,000 acres, because the contract gives us a right of entry, occupancy, etc. You offer this argument to quiet our minds whose money is paid into the Treasury; but, sir, this will not do, for, if we can hold the lands already paid for, we can not oblige Congress to take the remainder of the moneys we have collected unless the whole is completed, and therefore a part of us must be disappointed; besides, whatever you may think of our present title, it is dangerous to quarrel with that power who may determine a fox's ears to be horns.

I did not write you immediately on the doings of the Company in December and January, because Judge Parsons undertook the business, and I was too much engaged to have been particular. By Captain Dodge I wrote you a short letter, referring you to him for information, who was furnished with means to give you full information.

I am glad to hear the tide is turning with respect to our purchase; the saying is, every dog must have his day, but I hope and believe that the C——s and D——s will have a short day. One thing I am sure of—that our purchase will bear examination, and the more it is known, the better it will be esteemed. The lands, I verily believe, are equal to any in the Western Territory; they are most excellently watered, and the climate is exceeded by none.

You will doubtless hear of the murder of Captain King before this reaches you and be anxious to know the particulars. They are these: Captain King, with others, went to make a settlement down the Ohio about fourteen miles and in the very quarter where it might be expected the Indians who refused to come to the Treaty would be lurking for mischief, if any-where. The people were sufficiently warned to be cautious, but they were careless; seeing or hearing of no bad Indians in the woods for a long time, they were too secure. Captain King went from day to day, near a mile from other people, to work, alone and without his arms, and in this situation he was when he was shot and scalped, by whom is unknown; however, none suspect any of the Indians who were at the Treaty of having a hand in the murder.

I expect to set out for Massachusetts in three weeks, at farthest; shall come by way of New York, and perhaps shall have some further information respecting our payment when I come on. Remember, sir, we wish and expect you will be an inhabitant among us as soon as you can make it convenient.

I have the honor to be, sir, with respect,

Your humble servant,

RUFUS PUTNAM.

[*To Major Sargent.*]

IPSWICH, *September* 28, 1789.

My Dear Sir:—Your obliging letter, of March 14, is the only one I have been favored with from your hand since my return from Marietta, although I have before and since repeatedly wrote you. But I find your hand has been much better employed, and before I proceed any farther, give me leave to stop and congratulate you on giving it to a very amiable and agreeably young Lady. You can not fail of being happy in the judicious choice you have made of a companion and partner of your future good fortune. Matrimony, I had conceived, was the only object that would frighten you, but true bravery rises superior to every hasard. The young Lady has certainly done herself great honor in the conquest she has made. You have both my warmest wishes that every species of conjugal happiness may constantly attend you. This intelligence, of all others the most unexpected, I enjoyed with no common emotions; for, without the spirit of prophecy, I foresee the addition of no small degree of happiness to a friend I most sincerely respect and esteem. But it was an event, however, I could not fail of recording in my book of unaccountables.

General Putnam has made me a visit, and we had agreed to go on to New York the first of November, but the unexpected adjournment of Congress will oblige us to postpone it until after the first Wednesday in December. In the meantime, we are settling with the Agents, and preparing to complete our contract. There will be from 50 to 100 shares delinquent, but think we shall be able to obtain a deed for the whole purchase, should we succeed with Congress agreeably to our wishes.

If Congress should be disposed to favor the establishment of the University, I am confident it will have no inconsiderable influence on the spirit of migration from this part of the country. I hope by the time your eldest son has completed his scholastic studies the University will be in a condition to admit him a member.

I have the honor of inclosing a Certificate of your being elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which I had the pleasure of announcing to you in a former letter. So great is the *vis inertia* that reigns in the Secretaries of that Society, that it has been some years before members have been notified of their election. I have been induced in several instances, from this unpardonable delay, to take the Certificates and forward them to my friends.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, dear sir,

Your most humble servant,

WINTHROP SARGENT, ESQ. M. CUTLER.

[*From General Putnam.*]

RUTLAND, MASS., *December* 20, 1789.

Dear Sir:— . . . I have made a plan of the ancient works in the best manner I can, and hope the description will be satisfactory. If I have an opportunity, I will forward it to you before I come to Boston; but, if not, will bring it with me, and hope you will call on me at Mr. Bracket's the second Thursday of January, where we may have an opportunity to consult further on the measures to be taken with Congress. But, if any thing prevents your coming there, I shall leave the plan with Mr. Bracket, to be forwarded you by the first opportunity; or, perhaps, send it by your Representative, if I don't see you in Boston, nor hear from you. As soon as I can dispatch my business there, I shall set off for New York, on the business I was to have been upon this month, and shall give you the earliest information of every thing that turns up. I have letters from General Parsons and Major Sargent on the subject you mention that they wrote to you upon, which I will communicate when we meet, for they are too long to transcribe. I have had no letters from any other person since I came home, except Mr. Matthews, giving account of his disaster in the woods, of which, I conclude, you are well informed. I am told that final settlements are rising, and, if so, we shall never be able to collect the whole sum necessary to complete the payment according to contract, and, of course, shall be under the necessity of compromising with Congress somehow or other. In this view of the matter, it is my opinion that no more divisions should take place till we know the result of our applications to Congress on that subject, and that we ought to write to the agents at Muskingum our sentiments on this subject as soon as may be. General Parsons, in his letter, is very urgent for a settlement with Congress, and the obtaining a title, even though a considerable sacrifice is made. So am I. But, at present, if we could get a title by giving Bond for the payment of the money due, I should be loath to involve myself and the little property I have in such a business. The only way that I conceive eligible is by giving a part of the land to obtain a title for the rest, and this might be done in one of these two ways: Either take off the quantity not paid for in one tract, or that the several shares not paid for should be given up to Congress throughout the whole tract, in the divisions made or to be made by the Company, and to be sold for the benefit of Congress, in such manner as they shall direct. The latter method would, no doubt, be most advantageous to Congress. But in both cases they will be gainers by us, as the value of the lands must be enhanced by the surveys and settlements we have already made, and should continue to make, in the country. Such a proposal, I think, they will not refuse, for they must know that if people can not obtain a title to the lands they have paid for, there will be an end to any rapid settlement in the country, and all prospects of future sale and settlement in the Western Country will be nearly at an end. I have not yet sent my letter to Mr. Ames. I want you should first inspect it. And for all these purposes, most earnestly request that you will meet me at Boston on the day before mentioned.

Believe me, my dear sir,
Your friend and humble servant,
RUFUS PUTNAM.

[*From General Putnam.*]

BOSTON, *January* 16, 1790.

Dear Sir:—I wrote you some time since, requesting you to meet me here last Thursday, and am very sorry at the disappointment. I shall leave your pamphlet, with my plan of the ancient works and a dozen of Dr. Drown's Oration, with Mr. Crocket, for him to forward, if an opportunity presents, or deliver to your order. Mr. Thomas sells these at 1*s.* 6*d.* each, but to me they come at 19*d.*

You know, I suppose, that General Parsons is dead, and that the Agents are pushing on a division of all the land as fast as possible. This, if not prevented, may throw us into the greatest confusion, as we know not on what terms we can settle with Congress.

I shall leave this town on Monday, and in the stage that leaves Boston on the next Monday, I shall take my passage to New York; shall go on board Tuesday at Spencer, and most earnestly request you will be my company, or, if not, that you will come on as soon as possible; for, the state of our affairs at Marietta, the President's speech respecting education and other matters, as well as the matters contained in our commission, in my opinion, require the immediate attendance of us both at New York.

I am, sir, with much respect,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
RUFUS PUTNAM.

REV. MANASSEH CUTLER,
AT IPSWICH.

P. S.—I shall lodge at Mrs. Wheaton's, by the English Chapel.

[General Putnam probably referred to the following extracts from President Washington's Address to the House of Representatives and to the Senate, Jan. 8, 1790:

"Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge in every country is the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of Government receive their impression so immediately from the the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways. By convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of Government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights, to discern and provide against invasions of them, to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience, and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.

"Whether this desirable object will be best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national University, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the Legislature."

While there may be no proof of any direct understanding as between Washington and the projectors of the Ohio Company, in regard to this important subject of "knowledge as a basis of public happiness," and as a foundation of "good government," and also in regard to a "national university," yet the coincidence of sentiment can be clearly traced. The Ohio Company, through their Agent, had already marked out the line of public policy that the President here recommends.]

Wed., January 6, 1790. News of the death of my sister Lee. Neither brother nor sister left.

Mon., Jan. 11. The Committee of the Parish, consisting of nine, appointed for the purpose of visiting the four schools in the parish (agreeable to an Act of the General Court, passed in their last session), accompanied me to three of the schools.

We began at the East School, at nine in the morning. Visited the South School at eleven and the North School in the afternoon. Several of the Committee dined with me.

Tues., Jan. 12. This afternoon we visited the West School, and were pleased to find them all in a very good state. The scholars having been lately pretty well supplied with Webster's last edition of the 1st part of his Graml. Institute, we promise ourselves that much greater progress will be made than heretofore. The several Masters and the Committee spent the evening and supped with me.

[Dr. Cutler had, from his first settlement at Ipswich Hamlet, taken a deep interest in the schools, and often visited them for the purpose of giving moral and religious instruction. Temple Cutler, Esq., mentions in his reminiscences that even before the law required so strict inquiry respecting the qualifications of schoolmasters, as chairman of the school committee, Dr. Cutler instituted a critical examination as to to their acquirements and ability to teach, not hesitating to reject such as were found wanting. He looked carefully into the character of the books used in the schools, and exacted of the teachers particular attention to the rudiments, and thorough teaching in the foundation studies. He personally examined the scholars, whose interest in their studies was thus greatly stimulated, and the co-operation of parents, who were invited to be present, was also secured. So much were his methods approved, that he was often requested to visit other towns for the purpose of introducing his mode of examination.

These semi-annual school visitations, which occupied two days, became quite a social event; each committeeman, in turn, entertaining the members of the school board at his house, and at the close the committee and all the teachers were usually invited to take supper and spend the evening with Dr. Cutler, who knew well how to make it a season of delightful and profitable social intercourse.]

Mon., Feb. 8. Preparing for New York.

Lord's Day, Feb. 14. (In Boston.) Preached A. M. for Mr. Everett; P. M. for Mr. Belknap.

Mon., Feb. 15. Left Boston for New York in the stage, Mr. Pease in company.

Lord's Day, Feb. 21. Set out early, and arrived at New York at one o'clock. Took lodgings at Mrs. Wheaton's, near St. George's Chapel, No. 11, where I found General Putnam and Mr. Reed.

Mon., Feb. 22. Called on a number of my friends. Delivered letters. Attended debates in Congress, very much entertained. The Hall appears superb. After dinner waited on several members of Congress.

Tues., Feb. 23. Attended debates. Called on several friends.

Wed., Feb. 24. Attended debates. Called on Mr. Strong.

Thurs., Feb. 25. Waited this morning on the Vice-President [Hon. John Adams]. Went up in a Hackney coach, and spent an hour. Delivered letters.

Fri., Feb. 26. Invited to dine with the Vice-President. Mr. Reed went with me in a Hackney coach. Returned in the evening. Very agreeable. Colonel Smith and lady present.

Sat., Feb. 27. Dined at General Knox's. A very large company. Scioto Company met at Colonel Duer's. Just as we were seated we received letters from Barlow, announcing the completion of his contract, much as we wished.

Lord's Day, Feb. 28. At St. George's Chapel in the morning. Dr. Moore preached. P. M., at English Church. Mr. Linn preached. In the evening the Scioto Company met at Mrs. Francis', in Cortland Street. Wrote home.

Mon., Mar. 1. Visited Mr. Trumbull's painting. Never formed an idea of painting before.

Tues., Mar. 2. Dined with Mr. Goodhue.

Wed., Mar. 3. Supped at Mrs. Francis'. Wrote to Boston and Ipswich.

Thurs., Mar. 4. Drank tea at Mr. Ames'.

Fri., Mar. 5. Drawing Petitions.

Sat., Mar. 6. Dined with Captain Hammond, Baron Steuben, Mr. Osgood, Mr. Pintard, etc.

Lord's Day, Mar. 7. At Roman Catholic Chapel, A. M. Dined at Mr. Hazard's, and went to Presbyterian New Brick with Mr. Hazard. Drank tea at Mr. Osgood's.

Mon., Mar. 8. Dined at Mr. Henderson's.

Tues., Mar. 9. Dined at Mr. Osgood's.

Wed., Mar. 10. Dined at Mr. Atkinson's. A Frenchman from Barlow. Wrote Mrs. Cutler.

Mar. 11, 12. Attended Congress.

Sat., Mar. 13. Dined at Mr. Pintard's.* Very large company. Several members of Congress.

Lord's Day, Mar. 14. A. M., heard Foster, the Baptist, from N. Mills. P. M., at Dr. Linn's. Wrote home very largely to Mrs. Cutler and Dr. Whitney.

Mon., Mar. 15. Attended at the War Office. Drank tea at Mr. Gerry's.

Mar. 16, 17, 18. Attended at the War Office. Spent an evening with Mr. Gerry.

Fri., Mar. 19. Adjusting accounts. Spent the evening with members of Congress.

Sat., Mar. 20. Attended the Jews' Synagogue. Much entertained. A young gentleman was very complaisant to us, and gave us much information.

Sunday, Mar. 21. Attended the Moravian Meeting in the morning. Had organs, singing—fine. P. M., we went to Mr. Mason's, a Seceding Presbyterian, in Little Queen Street. In the evening at a lecture at the Methodist Meeting—very extravagant. Wrote to Mr. Everett, of Boston, Dr. Whitney, and Mrs. Cutler.

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* John Pintard, LL.D., was the founder of historical societies in the United States. By descent a French Huguenot, he was born in New York city in 1759. He graduated at the College of New Jersey, 1776, and served as a soldier during the Revolution. He studied law, but was never in actual practice. He edited the New York Daily Advertiser for a short time, then engaged in commerce, and failed in the panic of 1792. He traveled extensively in the west, and studied the history and character of the Indians. He was the first city inspector of New York, appointed in 1804; originated the first savings bank there; was prominent in the formation of the American Bible Society, and the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and gave efficient aid to DeWitt Clinton in his efforts to build the Erie Canal. By correspondence and personal solicitation he induced Jeremy Belknap to organize the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was, himself, conspicuously the founder of the New York Historical Society. He died in New York city, 1844.—*See Drake's Dictionary of American Biography; and "Illustrated Chapter of Beginnings," by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, Magazine of American History, September,* 1886.

Mon., Mar. 22. Mr. Austin came to our lodgings.

March 23, 24. At War Office.

Thurs., Mar. 25. The new Trinity Church was dedicated by the Bishop. Vast concourse. Mr. Beach preached a very fine sermon.

Fri., Mar. 26. Attended Congress. Mr. Austin went to Connecticut.

Sat., Mar. 27. Went to Elizabeth Town in a pirogue. Rather dull passage.

Lord's Day, Mar. 28. Preached for Mr. Austin. Married a couple in the evening. Attended a lecture at the Episcopalian Church—more zeal than knowledge. Wrote to Dr. Whitney, Mr. Dodge, Major Burnham,* and Mrs. Cutler.

Mon., Mar. 29. Returned. A very long and disagreeable passage. John J. Dodge, and Procter, from Muskingum, came over with me.

Tues., Mar. 30. Wrote home by Dodge.

Wed., Mar. 31. At the War Office from nine in the morning to three. Concluded most of my business there.

April 1. At War Office.

Apr. 2. Attended Congress.

Apr. 3. Received letters from home.

Lord's Day, Apr. 4. Attended the New Trinity Church.

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*Major John Burnham was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1749; died at Derry, New Hampshire, 1843. In the War of the Revolution he served as a Lieutenant in Little's regiment, Captain in the Eighth Massachusetts, and Major. He was present at the battles of Bunker Hill, Long Island, Trenton, Saratoga, Monmouth, Stony Point, and Yorktown. The company he commanded in the Eighth Massachusetts was, in 1782, complimented in general orders by General Washington, in these words: "The Commander-in-Chief did not think he ever saw a company under arms make a more soldier-like and military appearance." In 1790, Major Burnham enlisted a company, took it to Ohio, and, in the employ of the Scioto Associates, cleared the land where Gallipolis is located, and built the houses first occupied by the French emigrants who settled there. He returned to New England in 1791; settled in New Hampshire about 1798.—*See Crowell's History of Essex.*

Sacrament administered by the Bishop. Very solemn. P. M.; attended at New Brick Church—Dr. Rogers.

Mon., Apr. 5. Expected our business to come forward, but was disappointed.

Tues., Apr. 6. At Platt's Office.

Wed., Apr. 7. At Congress—nothing done.

Thurs., Apr. 8. At Platt's.

Fri., Apr. 9. At Congress.

Sat., Apr. 10. Dined at Colonel Duer's. Letter from Mrs. Cutler; wrote to her.

Lord's Day, Apr. 11. At the Old Low Dutch Church in the morning. The Parson preached in Dutch; a fine orator. Afternoon, rained.

Mon., Apr. 12. Congress negatived the Assumption bill.

Tues., Apr. 13. Busy on Ohio matters.

April 14, 15, 16. Busy at home.

Sat., April 17. At Duer's.

Sunday, Apr. 18. Very stormy. Snow fell two or three inches deep, then hard rain. Attended meeting at the High Dutch Church, in Nassau Street; very thin. Preacher, a Dutchman, preached in Dutch.

April 19. Very busy at the War Office.

Tues., Apr. 20. At Platt's.

Wed., Apr. 21. Very busy settling Ohio Company accounts.

Thurs., Apr. 22. At Platt's.

Fri., Apr. 23. Finished my business, much to my mind. Left New York at 3 o'clock in the Providence Packet, in company with Mr. Reed, of Salem. Fine wind and weather.

Mon., Apr. 26. Came on to Boston. Mr. Reed and I took a chaise at Charlestown, and came home. Arrived at Ipswich about sunset.

Mon., May 17. Visited sick. Attended the funeral of Mr. Tappan, at Manchester. Was one of the bearers.

Tues., May 25. Went to Boston this morning, and attended the meeting of the Academy. Dined at Mr. Bowdoin's, and lodged at Mr. Everett's.

Wed., May 26. Election. Attended the exercise at the

Old Brick. A Mr. Foster preached. Was to have dined again at Mr. Bowdoin's, but business prevented.

[*To Rev. Oliver Everett.**]

NEW YORK, *Feb.* 24, 1790.

My Dear Sir:—I arrived in this city on Sunday; on Monday attended the debates in Congress. The most of last week was taken up with a very unexpected motion from Mr. Madison, for making a discrimination between original holders and purchasers of securities. A motion of this kind from a member of less consequence than Mr. M. would have been smiled at, but his character gave it importance. The principal speakers were engaged in the debates. I was, however, so unfortunate as to hear very little from the first characters, as the subject was nearly exhausted, and left to the bickerings of some of the smaller folks. On taking the question Mr. M. had the mortification, which he appeared sensibly to feel, to be in a minority—only 13 for the motion. The next question was the funding the domestic debt. It was contested, but none of the great characters arose. It passed in the affirmative by a very great majority.

The next question, which employed yesterday and this day, was on the assumption of the State Debts. This was held up as a most important question, involving in it the whole system of the Secretary of the Treasury, and in its consequences materially affecting the very existence of the Union. All the great characters were engaged, and much ability and eloquence was displayed.

Mr. Gerry ably defended the assumption on anti-federal ground. His principal arguments were that if the State debts were not assumed, the States being absolutely unable, at present, to secure funds for the payment of their debts, would become less popular and less important in the view of the people. The State creditors would feel themselves injured, while they were neglected, and the Continental provided for, and their wish and exertions would be to diminish the State and exercise the Continental powers. And that if the States should ever find it necessary to oppose the General Government, a heavy debt and the charge of a violated faith would fustrate all their attempts. The most violent and clamorous opposer of the assumption was Mr. Stone, of Maryland. Although the question is not yet taken, there is not the smallest doubt of its being carried in the affirmative. Just before the Committee rose this afternoon, there appeared evidently to be a coalescence of parties, in consequence of an amendment proposed by Mr. Madison, that the credits as well as the debts of the States should be assumed, and a final settlement of accounts, between all the States from the commencement of the war, be adjusted. It is, however, not improbable that it may be several days before the question is taken. If this question passes in the affirmative, there seems to be little doubt of the adoption of the whole system of the Secretary of the Treasury.

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* "The youngest of Ebenezer Everett's nine children was Oliver, born in Dedham, June 11, 1752. He was the father of Hon. Edward Everett, and grandfather of Rev. E. E. Hale, D.D., of Boston, Mass."—*New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Oct.*, 1887, *page* 400.

You will do me a particular favor by furnishing me with an account of the present state of Gorham and Phelps' purchase of the General Court. What have the Court done with respect to it in the present session? Is there a process now against them? What is their plan? Will they attempt to give up, or do they choose to hold their purchase? Is their property and that of others concerned attached? I do not make these inquiries from a wish to interfere with them, but only from a probability that if I was furnished with the present state of their Purchase it may be of some advantage in securing the influence of some members in Congress in accomplishing our wishes, and without the least detriment to them. Mr. Russell and many others will be able to give you full information. This request is *inter nos*, and wish my name may not be mentioned.

What has the Court done respecting excise? And what are they about? What will they say to the assumption of the State debts? Pray, write me by the next post, or as soon as you can get the above information respecting Gorham's purchase.

I shall probably be much longer in the city than I expected when I left Boston, and shall with pleasure inform you of any thing which I may suppose will afford you any satisfaction.

My compliments to Mrs. E., who, I hope, is in agreeable circumstances.

I am, with great esteem,
Dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant,
Rev. Mr. Everett. M. Cutler.

[*To Rev. Oliver Everett.*]

New York, *Feb*, 28, 1790.

My Dear Sir:—Congress are still on the question, whether the State debts shall be assumed. In my letter of Wednesday last I mentioned Madison's amendment.

On Thursday Mr. White moved a proviso to Madison's amendment, viz: "Provided, such assumption shall not exceed the sum which any state may have advanced above its just proportion, as the same shall appear upon its liquidation." This produced a debate, which continued until just before the adjournment on Friday, when the question on this amendment was taken, and passed in the negative. During these debates there appeared to be some changes in the opinion of members respecting the question of assumption, which rendered it more difficult to form a judgment how it would issue. When White's motion was negatived (which seemed to have been originally intended to embarrass, and, if possible, prevent the assumption), Madison moved an amendment to his own, which was long, but found to contain in substance no more, than that there should be a liquidation of accounts with the States, within a certain period of time, should be made on the principle of enumeration, making that the rule of adjustment. This amendment will probably take up much more time, and postpone the general question. Some gentlemen say Madison is in fact opposed to assumption; others that he has only in view a particular modification in favor of his own State. I must confess it appears to me somewhat problematical, but, on the whole, I think he is in favor. Our members, I believe, are all in favor, except Grant, who, I observed, has taken care to be wrong on every question taken in Congress since I have attended the debates. Several of them have made great exertions. Sedgwick and Goodhue have distinguished themselves, but Gerry has gone beyond them, in displaying a clear and extensive knowledge of the subject, and tracing the probable consequences. He has certainly done himself much credit in the view of the Federalists. Ames has not said much in the House, but I believe has been very active abroad. Indeed, at this stage of the business, I believe the friends to the assumption depend more on management out of doors than within, and I believe, firmly, will out-general their opponents.

Many of the speeches in the House have been truly Ciceronian, but some of them far below par; the latter description of speeches are put into the hands of some pretty able cobbler to mend, before they go to the press, which will account for that tolerably decent appearance they make in the papers. As the mail will be closed in a few minutes I must desist. I beg leave to assure you that I am, with sincere esteem,

Dear sir, your most obedient,

M. Cutler.

[*To Rev. Mr. Everett.*]

New York, *March* 21, 1790.

My Dear Sir:—I sincerely thank you for your kind favor of the 6th instant, received by the last mail. I fear that I have been troublesome in requesting the particular information respecting G.'s purchase. When I wrote you, our business was in a train that rendered it probable such information might be useful, but it has since taken a different turn. Our object is to obtain a reduction of the price we were to give for the land. We have not yet applied to Congress, but we have reason to believe we shall succeed to our utmost wishes.

Our time has been employed in securing the interest of the members, by stating to them, at their private lodgings, the principles and facts on which we shall found our petition, while we have been waiting for Congress to fix the price for future sales. If we obtain our lands at twenty cents, of which I at present have little doubt, we shall make a saving to the Company of more than $500,000, and in the same proportion increase the value of the shares.

Mr. M——s has disgusted many of his friends by taking a part different from their expectations in almost every question on the Secretary's report. His enemies charge him with duplicity, some with dishonesty. It is said that he at first appeared to be pleased with the system; that he repeatedly intimated to H–l–n his approbation, and suggested that he should support it. However this might be, he has not appeared to me to favor the leading principles of this system in the House, nor has he directly opposed them. But it must be acknowledged that he is possessed of excellent abilities. He distinguishes himself much in his speeches by the accurate arrangement of his ideas, and in the happy choice of words to express them. I must confess there are few in Congress whose air and address is more pleasing to me, tho' he appears less animated than many others. His speeches are sentimental, and when he descends to sophistical reasoning, which he has lately often done, he manages it with great art. To me he appears to be possessed of much art, exceedingly local in his views of national objects, and disposed to sacrifice every thing to what he conceives to be for the interest or would be gratifying to his constituents. His talent at artful management has been amply displayed in the opposition that has been made to the assumption. For it has been made against the clearest and most forcible reasoning, as well as every principle of justice, honor, and sound policy. There has been no occasion that has brought forth the whole ability of Congress so clearly as in discussing this question, and it is so very clear that the fairest reasoners and the best politicians have been on the affirmative side of it. Mr. M——s may plume himself on the numbers that have been with him, but I am sure he can not be pleased with his company.

You have seen by the papers that the Committee of the whole House on the Secretary's report have made their report to the House, but the assumption will undoubtedly meet with another severe combat. It was expected that the report would have been taken up by the House last week, but the *cons* are endeavoring to keep it off until the arrival of the N. Carolina members, who, it is supposed will all be against it; the *pros* have been afraid to bring it forward until the return of several members on their side the question, who are now absent, but are expected in the course of the present week. There is yet some ground to fear whether the assumption passes this session, though most of the friends of this measure are pretty sanguine that it will be adopted. They view it as the Key-Stone to the present Government, and will never give up the object while they are members of the House.

It has not been in contemplation to fix the interest of the national debt lower than four per cent. I believe all who are not for four are for six per cent. It indeed seems to be a prevailing wish of the House to fund the debt in such a mode as will approach as near to six per cent as the present state of the country will admit. But at whatever rate interest is fixed, at least, if it is above three per cent, foreigners will speculate in our funds; and if this is an evil, which I am upon the whole inclined to doubt, the higher the interest, the greater will be the evil. Probability of the transfer of a great part of our domestic debt to foreigners has been much talked of in Congress, but the result seems to have been, by a pretty general agreement, that Congress have it not in their power to guard against foreign speculation, and that they ought to pay no regard to this matter in their establishment of a funding system.

It is mortifying to see so many, as there appears to be, in our national legislature who pay little regard to national honor or credit, but I am persuaded there is a respectable majority who pay a proper attention to these great objects. Some acts may possibly pass derogatory to a national character which ought to be immediately established. Yet I think the honor and credit of this country will be pretty well supported during the existence of the present Congress.

It was my intention to have mentioned several other matters when I sat down to write, but I have been much interrupted by a room full of company, and the hour is now arrived (8 o'clock) at which the mail closes, and I can only add that I am, with sincere affection, dear sir,

Your very humble servant,

M. CUTLER.

[*From General Putnam.*]

BOSTON, *August* 12, 1790.

My Dear Sir:—I wrote you from Rutland last week, and forwarded my letter by mail, in which I requested you to meet me here yesterday, but, as I see you not, conclude you did not receive my letter in season. I expect to set out with my family the week after next for Muskingum, and the hurry that I am in to prepare for the voyage renders it impossible to come to Ipswich, though I want much to see you before I go again to the Western Country.

Our old Commission to transact business on the east of the Mountains is considered by the Directors at Muskingum as at an end, and, as there was no prospect that Congress would settle the price of western lands in time to apply this session, nor who could best attend from that quarter next winter, it was agreed to let the matter rest for the present. It is expected that Sargent will return to Muskingum next October, and not before. I shall do my endeavor that he be joined with you to complete the contract with Congress. And perhaps Green or Oliver will also come on as soon as matters are ripe for us to apply. At any rate, I will endeavor that you have seasonable notice of what measures are adopted, as well as the time when to meet there on the business.

I hope you are making your arrangements (at least, in your mind) to come to Muskingum as soon as our contract is completed. Your company is much wished for by the best people, and I believe you will hear no more clamor about the Scioto purchase. I have many things to say, could I see you. Pray come to Rutland next week, if you can.

I am, sir, yours,
With every possible sentiment of respect,
MR. CUTLER. RUFUS PUTNAM.

Jan. 4-7, 1791. Engaged in preparing a paper on the Ancient Ruins in America.

Jan. 26, *Wed.* Attended the meeting of the American Academy. We walked in procession from the Hall of the Bank to Mr. Thatcher's Meeting House, where the Hon. Mr.

Lowell delivered a most elegant oration in honor of our late President, Governor Bowdoin. Very full assembly. We returned in procession. Dined at Dr. Dexter's. Drank tea at Mrs. Bowdoin's. Spent the evening and lodged at Mr. Everett's, Boston.

Jan. 27, *Thurs.* Dined at Mr. Burley's. Did business. Attended a meeting of the Proprietors of the Ohio Company at the Bunch of Grapes.

Jan. 28, *Fri.* Paid Mr. Dudley Hubbard the whole for the place I bought of the heirs of his late father. Dined at Mr. Barrel's, and came home.

Feb. 18, *Tues.* Spent the evening at Mr. Samuel Whipple's, when Colonel Dodge, Captain Whipple, Mr. Joseph Poland, and Lieutenant John Dodge were sworn as Commissioners of Sewers, in consequence of a Commission I obtained from the Governor for clearing Miles River.

Feb. 23, *Wed.* Met with the Commissioners of Sewers.

Mar. 9, *Wed.* A meeting of the proprietors of the river.

[Miles River was a very sluggish stream, flowing from Wenham Lake into Ipswich River, through a part of Wenham, Hamilton, and Ipswich. By its annual overflow, it rendered unproductive a large portion of the adjoining meadow lands, which only yielded a coarse, inferior grass. A part of the Hubbard farm, lately purchased by Dr. Cutler, was subject to these inundations, and he suggested to the other owners of meadows on the borders of this stream the expediency of opening and clearing out the obstructions to the river, the expense to be met by a tax upon these lands.

He succeeded in convincing a majority of the proprietors of the utility of the plan. They united with him in a petition to the authorities for a Commission, with leave to make the needed improvements; and, although a counter-memorial was presented, Governor Hancock and his Council granted the petition. This resulted in the reclaiming, to the great advantage of the owners, of hundreds of acres, which have now become very valuable meadow lands.]

Mar. 15, *Tues.* Parish meeting. I went to town to meet with the committee appointed by the proprietors of the Ipswich Social Library, to draw up Articles of Agreement and Regulations for the Company. We met at Esquire Choat's. Present: Hon. Stephen Choat, Esq., Mr. Dana, Mr. Frisbie, Esq. Noyes, and myself.

Mar. 22, *Tues.* Messrs. Dana and Frisbie here, as a sub-committee with myself, for forming a constitution and articles for the Library Company.

Mar. 23, *Wed.* Went to town and met with the Library Committee at Mr. Noyes'.

Apr. 3, *Lord's Day.* A most beautiful Annular Eclipse of the Sun this morning, which began just after sunrise and ended after 8 o'clock. The appearance was fine, although I had only a common spy-glass, as the atmosphere was in an uncommonly fine state. Tho' rainy yesterday, the wind shifted to the N. W., and had cleared the air from the smallest appearance of vapor. Nearly calm while the eclipse lasted, but the wind very high the most of the day. Preached.

Apr. 21, *Thurs.* My barn was moved from the Hubbard house round the north end of the Meeting House to my other barn. Began to move it at 8 o'clock, and had it completely placed on the spot, without any accident or injury to the building, by one o'clock. We had about ninety yoke of oxen, but they were not all put in the strings for hauling the barn. Dined about 200 persons. The whole parish was invited, and generally attended.

Apr. 26, *Tues.* Attended a meeting of the Trustees of the Ipswich Social Library.

May 24, *Tues.* Went this morning to Cambridge, and then to Boston. Attended the meeting of the Academy. Dined at Esquire Storer's.

May 25, *Wed.* Election. A fine sermon. The Governor gave a public dinner to the Clergy, and a great number of others, nearly 300, at Faneuil Hall. A very fine entertainment; escorted by the Fusiliers. Attended Convention. Went to Mr. Everett's with Mr. Chickering, and spent the night very agreeably.

June 1, *Wed.* Attended the annual meeting of our Philosophical Library Company at Mr. Prince's.

June 7, *Tues.* Went to Nahant, in Lynn, in company with

Messrs. Prince, Barnard, and McKeen, where we met Mr. Belknap and Mr. Everett, of Boston, on a philosophical visit to the Swallow House, or cave in the rocks on the sea-shore. Among other curiosities we found the Sea-anemone, or animal plant, in great perfection and of a large size. Killed several kinds of birds, for the purpose of arranging them in Natural History. A very agreeable day.

June 12, *Lord's Day.* (At Providence.) Preached for Dr. Hitchcock. A very handsome congregation. Wore my black gown and cassock for the first time.

Mon., June 13. We rode about, and out of town. Dined with Governor Bowen. Attended a meeting of the Proprietors of the Ohio Company, and gave them an account of the state of the Company's affairs, which appeared to be satisfactory.

July 7, *Thurs.* Mrs. C. and I went to Salem very early, and Mr. Prince and I went to Nahant. Met Mr. Barrel and son, and Messrs. Belknap and Clark from Boston. Found a great number of the sea-anemone in the Swallow House.

Aug. 2–6. Notified a meeting of the Proprietors of the Ohio Company to meet at the Bunch of Grapes on the 10th instant. Busy about Ohio matters.

Aug. 10, *Wed.* (In Boston.) Dined with Mr. Barrel. Attended a meeting of the Proprietors at the Bunch of Grapes. They appointed me to go on to Philadelphia and settle all their accounts.

Sept. 5–7. Preparing specimens of plants and Catalogue of animals. Sent specimens to Dr. Muhlenberg.

Sept. 8–10. Finished Catalogue of animals, and sent it to Brother Belknap for his History.*

Oct. 11, *Tues.* (At Beverly.) Observed the eclipse of the Moon. A very fine observation. Several gentlemen present.

Nov. 8, *Tues.* The Proprietors of the Philosophical Library agreed to take the American edition of the Encylopædia. I received the first volume.

Dec. 9, *Fri.* A meeting of the Proprietors of the Ipswich Local Library. Adjusted the order of drawing. I came up the 4th on the list, and took out Goldsmith's Animated Nature.

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* This list of animals is in Chapter X. of Volume III., Belknap's History of New Hampshire.

SEA-ANEMONE.

This account of the Sea-anemone is found among Dr. Cutler's papers:

The Sea-anemones are a most singular species of animals, approaching nearly, if not nearest, to the connecting link between the animate and inanimate creation. We have had no account of the discovery of the Sea-anemone on the American shores until the year 1791. In the month of June Dr. Cutler, with the Rev. Mr. Prince, of Salem, in company with several other gentlemen, visited the cavern in the rocks on the southern side of Nahant, in Lynn, called the Swallow-house, for the purpose of searching for them. At the bottom of the cavern, after the tide had receded, they found great numbers, of different sizes, and a great variety of colors.

The general form of this singular animal, when moderately contracted, is nearly like that of a truncated cone, with its base adhering to the rocks, but it has the power of assuming a variety of shapes. The position in which some of them appeared resembled a full-blown anemone; others approached nearer to the flower of a large rose or poppy, and some were extended in an oblique direction, with the leaves so much contracted as to exhibit only their margin in the form of a fringe.

When the arms or leaves of the larger ones were fully displayed they measured five and six inches in circumference, exhibiting a great variety and brilliancy of colors. Some were of the purest white, some of the most delicate flesh color, others tinged with purple, green, and violet, and still others shaded and variegated with the finest brown or black. On touching the arms, or leaves, they instantly contract. By expanding and contracting the leaves, they collect and convey food to their mouths, which are placed in the center of the blossom. On offering them bits of muscles, they directly seized them with their arms, conducted them to their mouths, and swallowed them. If pieces of shells adhering to the muscle, or if small muscles were given them, the shells were afterward discharged by the mouth.

The Sea-anemone is said to be viviparous. It has also the power of reproduction. If the arms are clipped off, they will bud and grow to the usual size. And the Abbe Dicquemare has shown by a course of experiments that, like Polype, it may be multiplied by shreds clipped from the animal. These Anemones have a progressive motion; moving, but extremely slow. Mr. Joseph Barrel, of Charlestown, who with several other gentlemen was there at the same time, carried home a pebble on which an anemone had attached itself, and preserved it several months in sea water. It disengaged itself from the stone and moved about the vessel in which he had placed it. It has been classed among the Zoophytes.

CHAPTER XI.

DIRECTORS' PETITION TO CONGRESS—REPORT OF COMMITTEE—ACT CONVEYING LANDS TO OHIO COMPANY—LETTERS TO MRS. CUTLER—DIARY, 1793.

Of the years from 1791 to 1800, some of the interleaved Almanacs are not found. Those which remain, with letters written during this period, and other documents, show something of the busy life which Dr. Cutler led. Of the year 1792 he states, in a letter to Dr. Muhlenburg, that: "The concerns of the Ohio Company have unavoidably occupied all my time for a year past, except an attention to such parochial duties as could not be dispensed with." Four months in the earlier part of the year he was in Philadelphia, with two other Directors, General Rufus Putnam and Colonel Robert Oliver, endeavoring to procure from Congress an adjustment of the affairs of the Company. They sought to obtain a reduction in the price of the lands contracted for, to correspond with that at which Congress proposed to place other western lands in the market; and they particularly desired to secure deeds of that part of the purchase for which they had already paid. The Indian war, and the advance in the value of securities, to which was now added the failure of the treasurer, at New York, for a large amount of Company funds, were elements that greatly complicated the difficulties under which they labored. The Almanac for 1792 is missing, but the following documents and letters relating to the business will show the action of the Directors and of Congress in the premises.

While in Philadelphia at this time, Dr. Cutler was brought into pleasant social contact with President Washington, Vice-

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[*] Colonel Robert Oliver served with credit during the Revolution, attaining the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of the Tenth Massachusetts and Brevet Colonel. He came to Marietta, Ohio, 1788. After the death of General Parsons, 1789, he was chosen a director in the Ohio Company. He was Judge of the Common Pleas, and in 1800 President of the Territorial Council. He died at Marietta, 1810.

President Adams, General Knox, then Secretary of War, and their families, with many other distinguished people.

TO THE HONORABLE THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The memorial and petition of the subscribers, Directors of the Ohio Company of Associates, so called, most respectfully sheweth:

That, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, a certain number of the officers of the late army, consulting the interest of the United States, as well as their own, preferred a petition to Congress, praying that their Bounty Lands, and also the Bounty Lands of other officers and soldiers who chose to take their lands in the same quarter, might be located between the Ohio River and Lake Erie; and that they might be permitted to purchase additional quantities with the certificates they had received for their services. That the advantages which would result to government from a settlement made in that part of the country, were particularly stated to Congress in a letter from the then Commander-in-Chief, as well as in other papers accompanying the said petition. That, although the Land Ordinance, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, did not comport with the expectations of these petitioners, as in their opinion the price was too high, and the mode of sale such as rendered it impracticable to form a compact and defensible settlement, which discouraged many from further prosecuting this object; yet, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, the Principal Leaders in the first petition promoted an Association, under the name of the Ohio Company, which contemplated the raising of one million of dollars, for the express design of purchasing lands, and promoting a settlement in the Territory north-west of the Ohio River. That, having formed this Association, the late Samuel Holden Parsons, Esquire, made application to Congress for the sale of lands to the Company; and Congress, by their resolves of the 23d and 27th of July, in the same year, empowered the Board of Treasury to dispose of certain lands therein described, the price to be not less than one dollar per acre, liable to a reduction by an allowance for bad lands; and all incidental charges and allowances whatsoever not to exceed one-third of a dollar per acre. In consequence of which indentures were executed, on the 27th day of October following, "between Samuel Osgood, Walter Livingston, and Arthur Lee, Esquires, of the Board of Treasury of the United States, of the one part, and Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, as agents for the Directors of the Ohio Company of Associates, so called, on the other part, whereby the said parties of the first part, for and in the consideration of the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, paid into the Treasury of the United States by the said parties of the second part, the receipt whereof the said Board of Treasury" did "acknowledge before the ensealing and delivery of the said Indentures," did covenant to sell, and that the United States should convey to the said company of associates, one million and a half acres of land; and the parties of the second part further stipulated that five hundred thousand dollars more should be paid after the outlines of the tract had been surveyed. The said contract further provided, "That the said Ohio Company of Associates should, if they thought proper, immediately cultivate a part of said land proportionable to the payments they have made, and should have full security for the undisturbed enjoyment of the same."

When the agents of the Company first applied for the purchase, they were fully sensible that the price was much too high, especially when taken in connection with the expenses and dangers which would unavoidably attend the first settlement, and much time and pains were employed to obtain the land at a lower rate; but this was refused, with the strongest assurance that Congress had fixed a standing price, from which they would not depart. That as early as May 20, 1785, Congress passed an Ordinance, in which it is expressly provided: "That none of the lands within the Territory be sold under the price of one dollar per acre, to be paid in specie, loan office certificates reduced to specie value, or liquidated debts." That a resolve was passed on the 21st of April, 1787, confirming the former ordinance, in which it was declared: "That none of the lands shall be sold at less price than one dollar per acre, and that the sales shall be made agreeably to the mode pointed out by the ordinance of May 20, 1785." In the fullest confidence that Congress would abide by their own ordinances and resolutions, in all cases where a departure from them might essentially injure those citizens with whom Congress had entered into formal contract, the agents deemed it safe to make the purchase, that the company would not be liable to suffer in their property by lands being sold to future purchasers at a lower rate, nor be defeated in their intentions to accommodate settlers by disposing of their lands in smaller tracts. The circumstances, likewise, of many of the company, were such as rendered it necessary that their agents should accept of the terms offered; for, however they might be disposed to delay their emigrations until the state of the country should be more favorable, yet, such was the situation of many of them, in consequence of the depreciation of the securities they had received for their services in the defense of the country, that they were obliged to remove immediately into the wilderness, or remain in a state of humiliating dependence.

Accordingly, in December following, the company sent forward surveyors, carpenters, laborers, etc., who, in April, 1788, began and established a settlement, which two years ago had increased to more than one thousand persons. But this was not effected without a heavy tax on the funds of the company, as well as on the individual settlers; for, although many of the natives appeared friendly, yet others discovered a hostile disposition. The settlers found themselves in a more hazardous situation than they expected. The small number of troops assigned to the Western Territory being inadequate to that protection of the frontiers which was necessary to give security to the people, they found that they must erect defenses wherever they sat down, that they must work in companies, and guards must be continually kept, or they would neither labor nor sleep in safety. This continued to be their situation until after the peace concluded with the Indians by Governor St. Clair, in 1789; from which time, until General Harmar's expedition, the settlers enjoyed a tolerable degree of quiet, although during that period eight men were killed, two taken prisoners, and many horses were stolen. But, since that unfortunate affair, the settlers have experienced a continued scene of suffering and distress, which would be extremely painful, and perhaps improper to describe in this place, and which has added to the expense of the company, for their protection, the last year, more than nine thousand dollars, besides the pay and rations of the militia allowed to be maintained and paid by government. In addition to their unexpected expenses and discouragements, it was found necessary, so long ago as December, 1788, to make a further sacrifice of a grant of one hundred acres of land, out of each proprietor's share, to be given to such persons as would undertake to settle the same and *perform military services.*

Your Petitioners beg leave to observe further, that the proprietors, in general, received the certificates which they advanced in payment for their lands, equal in value to specie, yet the price was, at least, in some proportion to the depreciated state of public securities; the price of the lands being much above their real specie value, the company's property must suffer, in proportion to the rise of public securities, in their future sales of that Territory; and so great has been the expense of many of the proprietors, in removing their families into the country and establishing their settlements, that it is not in their power to make any further payments. We have been induced to give this detail, that the real situation and merit of the Ohio Company of Associates might in some measure appear. For, when Congress shall consider that the proprietors, in general, paid for their lands in securities they had received equal to specie; that the price was far above the real value of the lands, circumstanced as those lands then were, it will be seen that the proprietors have it not, nor ever can have it, in their power to complete their contract, owing to the rise of Public Securities, to the unexpected expenses incurred in consequence of the hostile disposition of the savages on our first arrival, and the great increase of expenses occasioned by the present Indian War, and owing likewise to a Bill which long since passed the Honorable House of Representatives of the United States, placing the price of the lands in the Western Territory at a much lower rate than that at which they were sold to the Ohio Company. For, although this Bill has not been completed, yet the public mind is so fixed, with respect to the price of those lands, that, were the Territory in a state of peace, the lands can not be sold unless on such terms as must prove the ruin of the settlements and the destruction of the Ohio Company, for the whole tract would not amount to the sum which remains to be paid to the Government. When Congress shall consider that this Company opened the sale of lands in the Western Territory by becoming the first purchasers of any considerable tract, that their object was not to raise the value of their lands, at the expense, exertions, and risk of others, but to make an actual settlement; when they shall consider the great expenses of the Company, which have amounted already to more than thirty-three thousand dollars, in specie, besides one hundred acres of land to each share, the hazard, extraordinary services of the settlers in securing their own protection, it will be seen that the mode of settlement they have adopted, though very expensive, was the only one that would, with any degree of certainty, succeed. And when it is further considered that five hundred thousand dollars were actually paid into the Treasury of the United States by the Ohio Company, more than four years ago, the interest of which has from that time ceased, and so much of the National Debt sunk, and the Company placing the utmost confidence in those Ordinances and Resolutions of Congress which declare "that the price of lands shall not be less than one dollar per acre," must suffer great injury and injustice, in consequence of a reduction of it to others, unless the same reduction shall extend to this purchase. When these and many other weighty arguments, which might have been suggested, are contemplated by Congress, your Petitioners are persuaded they will commiserate the singular and unhappy situation of this Company, and will not demand a literal fulfillment of their contract and afterward sell their lands to others at a lower rate.

Your Petitioners, therefore, pray that Congress will be pleased, as immediately as may be, to take the premises into consideration and confirm the tract of land to the Ohio Company of Associates described in their contract with the late Board of Treasury, at the rate of twenty cents per acre, or that Congress will retrieve this unfortunate Company from inevitable ruin by granting such terms and conditions as they, in their wisdom, shall deem, under its present circumstances, to be just and reasonable.

Your Petitioners earnestly solicit the further attention of Congress to the urgent and pressing reasons which compel them to pray for an immediate attention to their petition. The surveys of the outlines are now finished, and the returns in a short time will be made; after which, the second payment becomes due, and if not completed, the lands, and all the improvements of the Company, will be liable to a forfeiture. This circumstance gives great uneasiness to all the proprietors, and especially to those in the settlement. The proprietors, not having a clear title, can not sell their lands to others without hazard to both themselves and purchasers. The property being unnegotiable, the value of shares is daily depreciating, and the uneasiness and sufferings of the proprietors are in the same proportion increasing, as negotiations absolutely necessary to the existence of the Company can not be carried into effect by the Directors in the present state of the property.

A very considerable part of the military strength of the settlement depends upon non-proprietors, to whom lands have been promised on condition of the performance of military services to the end of the present war, and should the closing of this present contract be postponed to a future session of Congress, the Company can not fulfill their engagements to them, and if not done, the Directors are confidently assured those people will desert the settlement, the inevitable consequences of which must be that a great part, if not the whole of the settlement, will be abandoned. Nor does the hazard of a total desertion depend only on those people; the resident proprietors sensibly feel the great loss of men and property which they have sustained, as well as the extreme distress and suffering they endured the last year. There is every reason to believe that, unless they are relieved from that state of suspense and uncertainty respecting their title with which their minds have been so long exercised, they will make no further exertions to defend a settlement from which they are liable at any time to be driven; that, if the tomahawk and scalping-knife do not prevent an escape, they will immediately retreat to some place of greater security.

We will only add that the most of your Petitioners have with much anxiety left their families, exposed every moment to an attack from the Indians, to repair to this place for the purpose of closing the contract, and should they be obliged to return without effecting their object, we fear the evils we have suggested and many more will unavoidably take place.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Rufus Putnam,
Manasseh Cutler,
Robert Oliver,
March 2, 1792. *Directors.*

[The Committee, to whom the foregoing petition of the Directors was referred, consisted of Messrs. Sedgwick, Findley, Larned, Benson, and Baldwin, who made the following report]:

The Committee to whom was referred the Memorial of the Directors of the Ohio Company of Associates, so called, having attended the duty assigned to them,

REPORT:

That the said Ohio Company of Associates had its foundation in an application to the United States in Congress assembled, by the officers of the late army, a Copy of which, marked Number I., is herewith presented to the House. The motives whereto, and the objects proposed thereby, are particularly explained in the said petition, and in the papers, marked Number II. and Number III., being letters from Brigadier-General Putnam to the Commander-in-Chief, and from him to the President of Congress. That the contract mentioned in the petition was completed on the twenty-seventh day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, a copy whereof, marked Number IV., is herewith exhibited. That the contract was for 1,500,000 acres of land, at two-thirds of a dollar per acre. That one-half of the purchase was, *at the time*, paid in the public securities of the United States. That the petitioners declare that the said securities were almost universally paid for the use of original holders; that by means of circumstances which are publicly known, they have expended more than 33,000 dollars for their protection and the establishment of settlements on the territory contracted to be conveyed; and that they have engaged to give between 80,000 and 90,000 acres to those who have undertaken to become actual settlers. The petitioners further state to the Committee that the settlers aforesaid, who form a very considerable proportion of the residents, will not be induced to continue there, unless they can be secured in titles to their respective shares, which is not in the power of the proprietors to effect, until Congress shall have decided on their case. This manifests that their present desertion would operate the total ruin of the affairs of the Company.

On the foregoing state of facts, the Committee are of opinion—

1. That it is of great importance to the said Company that their case should be decided the present session.

2. That it would be inexpedient to exact of the said proprietors a specific performance of the said contract, and that fulfillment thereof is probably beyond their ability.

3. That to enable the said Company to maintain their settlements will be of public utility.

4. That the sum already paid for the territory contracted to be conveyed, being for the whole quantity, at the rate of 33⅓ cents per acre, is probably as much as will be determined as the price of future sales of public lands.

5. That it is expedient to relinquish any demand for payment of what remains due to the government in virtue of the said contract.

The Committee, as the result of the foregoing opinions, submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to bring in a bill to authorize a conveyance to the Directors of the Ohio Company, so called, for the use of the said Company, a tract of land particularly described in an indenture executed the twenty-seventh day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, between the then Board of Treasury, for the United States of the one part, and Manasseh Cutler and

Winthrop Sargent, as agents for the Directors of the said Ohio Company of the other part, with the reservations in the said indenture mentioned, in consideration of the purchase-money in the said indenture expressed to have been received; and to release to the said company the 500,000 dollars, the residue of the said purchase-money remaining unpaid.

The documents referred to in the foregoing Report are:

Number I. The Petition of the Officers in the Continental Line of the Army to the President and Delegates in Congress, June 16, 1783.

Number II. Letter of Rufus Putnam to General Washington, New Windsor, June 16, 1783.

Number III. Letter of George Washington, transmitting the Officers' Petition to the President of Congress, Headquarters, Newburgh, June 17, 1783.

Number IV. Contract of the Ohio Company with the Board of Treasury of the United States, October 27, 1787.

These papers, except the last, are given in full in another part of this volume.

An Act authorizing the grant and conveyance of certain Lands to the Ohio Company of Associates.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That a certain contract expressed in an indenture executed on the twenty-seventh day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, between the then Board of Treasury, for the United States of America of the one part, and Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, as agents for the directors of the Ohio Company of Associates of the other part, so far as the same respects the following described tract of land; that is to say: "Beginning at a station where the western boundary line of the seventh range of townships, laid out by the authority of the United States in Congress assembled, intersects the river Ohio; thence extending along that river southwesterly to a place where the western boundary line of the fifteenth range of townships, when laid out agreeably to the land ordinance, passed the twentieth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, would touch the said river; thence running northerly on the said western bounds of the said fifteenth range of townships, till a line drawn due east of the western boundary line of the said seventh range of townships, will comprehend, with the other lines of this tract, seven hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, besides the several lots and parcels of land in the said contract reserved or appropriated to particular purposes; thence running east to the western boundary line of the said seventh range of townships, and thence along the said line to the place of beginning;" be and the same is hereby confirmed. And that the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized and empowered to issue letters patent in the name and under the seal of the United States, thereby granting and conveying to Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, Robert Oliver, and Griffin Green, and to their heirs and assigns, in fee simple, the said described tract of land, with the reservations in the said indenture expressed, in trust for the persons composing the said Ohio Company of Associates, according to their several rights, and interests, and for their heirs and assigns, as tenants in common.

SEC. II. *And be it further enacted*, That the President be, and he hereby is, further authorized and empowered, by letters patent as aforesaid, to grant and convey to the said Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, Robert Oliver, and Griffin Green, and to their heirs and assigns, in trust for the uses above expressed, one other tract of two hundred and fourteen thousand, two hundred and eighty-five acres of land; *provided*, that the said Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, Robert Oliver, and Griffin Green, or either of them, shall deliver to the Secretary of the Treasury, within six months, warrants which issued for army bounty-rights sufficient for that purpose, according to the provisions of a resolve of Congress of the twenty-third day of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven.

SEC. III. *And be it further enacted*, That the President be, and he hereby is, further authorized and empowered, by letters patent as aforesaid, to grant and convey to the said Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, Robert Oliver, and Griffin Green, and to their heirs and assigns, in fee simple, in trust for the uses above expressed, a further quantity of one hundred thousand acres of land; *provided always, nevertheless*, the said grant of one hundred thousand acres shall be made on the express condition of becoming void, for such part thereof as the said Company shall not have, within five years from the passing of this act, conveyed in fee simple, as a bounty and free of expense, in tracts of one hundred acres, to each male person, not less than eighteen years of age, being an actual settler at the time of such conveyance.

SEC. IV. *And be it further enacted*, That the said quantities of two hundred and fourteen thousand, two hundred and eighty-five acres, and of one hundred thousand acres, shall be located within the limits of the tract of one million, five hundred thousand acres of land, described in the indenture aforesaid, and adjoining to the tract of land described in the first section of this act, and in such form as the President, in the letters patent, shall prescribe for that purpose.

SEC. V. *And be it further enacted*, That the President shall be, and he hereby is, authorized and empowered to grant and convey, as aforesaid, to the said Company of Associates, in the proportion of their respective rights and interests, the residue of the said one million five hundred thousand acres of land; *provided*, the said Company, or any of them or their agents, shall, within six years from the passing of this act, pay into the Treasury of the United States therefor at the rate of twenty-five cents per acre, with the interest thereof; *provided, nevertheless*, that bounty warrants for land may be received in payment for the whole or any part of the said tract which shall remain after deducting the reserved lots.

1792, April the 6th. Passed the House of Representatives.

This act was subsequently passed by the Senate, with the exception of Section V. Vice-President Adams gave the casting vote in favor of the donation of one hundred thousand acres. Congress did not reduce the price of the lands, as recommended in the Report of the Committee, so as to allow the Company the full number of acres for which they had contracted, in consideration of the moiety of the purchase-money which had been paid into the public Treasury; but, by a liberal compromise, deeds were given to the Directors for more than a million acres of land.

Two letters written by Dr. Cutler to his wife while this business was pending have been preserved, and are here given:

[*To Mrs. Cutler.*]

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 5, 1792.

My Dear:—A number of the members of Congress, whom we have interested in our matters, have had several meetings with General Putnam, Colonel Oliver, and myself, to consult on measures for closing our contract. They were very doubtful whether it would avail to petition this session, and recommended putting it off to another, as Congress has agreed to rise the 1st Tuesday in April, and had ten times as much business before them as they can do in that period. We have, however, pressed the measure so hard that they consented and engaged to support our petition. We prepared our petition as soon as possible, and presented it on Friday, requesting that it might be referred to a large select Committee of the House, rather than the Secretary of the Treasury. We made choice ourselves of the Committee, and were so fortunate as to get each individual (we had chosen) appointed, viz: Sedgwick, Findley, Baldwin, Learned, and Benson.* This Committee were not able to meet until this morning, when we attended them, but we had just laid before them our papers, and began to open our business, when the Speaker of

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*Theodore Sedgwick, LL.D., the chairman of this committee, was a classmate of Dr. Cutler at Yale. He was in service in the Revolution as Aid to General Thomas, was several times a member of the Massachusetts General Court, a member of the Continental Congress in 1785, of the United States Congress, 1789 to 1796, serving one term as Speaker, United States Senator, 1796 to 1799, Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts from 1802 until his death, in 1813.

William Findley was a member from Western Pennsylvania. He was a native of Ireland, and in politics a follower of Jefferson.

Abraham Baldwin was a native of Connecticut and a Yale graduate of 1772. He was educated as a clergyman, but abandoned the pulpit for the bar. In 1784 he settled in Savannah, Georgia. From 1785 until his death in 1807, he was a member from Georgia of the Continental the House sent the Marshal-at-Arms to summons them to attend the House, for there were not members enough present to make a quorum. This was no small disappointment, for we entertained a hope that they would have reported to-morrow morning, and the business be taken up by the House. The Committee adjourned until to-morrow morning, when they meet again. It is intolerably provoking that these idle, lazy, six dollars per day men can not rise in the morning, sip their coffee, and dismiss their barbers early enough to attend Congress at eleven o'clock. I fear we may have the same interruption to-morrow, but hope not, as they have given encouragement that they will pay close attention to our business until it has passed the House.

After our petition has passed the House, it must go to the Senate, there be committed to a Committee, and go through all the formalities which are used by the House. Mr. Wingate says we shall be fortunate if we get it through in a month. However, I hope and believe he will be a false prophet. I shall be much disappointed if we do not get it through in a fortnight. Of the probable event of our petition I can say nothing. We have secured a large number of powerful advocates in both Houses, but we shall find a strong opposition to granting the prayer of our petition, which is, that the whole tract may be confirmed to us at 20 cents per acre. I have no expectation of obtaining so great a reduction, but I am pretty well assured the business will now be brought

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Congress, of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, of the United States Congress, and of the United States Senate. He was a brother-in-law of Joel Barlow.

Amasa Learned was a native of Killingly, Connecticut, Doctor Cutler's old home, and a graduate of Yale, 1772. He was several times a member of Congress from Connecticut, and often a member of the Connecticut Legislature.

Egbert Benson, LL.D., was a member of Congress from New York. He was an eminent lawyer and prominent in literary circles. He was the first Attorney-General of New York, a member of the New York State Committee of Safety during the Revolution, member of the Continental Congress, of the United States Congress, Judge of the Supreme Court of New York, and of the United States Circuit Court. He was the first President of the New York Historical Society, and was the author of a number of historical works.

to a close at some rate or other, which will be no small satisfaction to me. Every moment of our time has been very busily employed in preparing our petition, and making interest with the members of both Houses. We have still to be equally engaged in trotting after their High Mightinesses, and if we fail I am sure it will not be owing to any neglect of ours.

I must, however, do them the justice to say we are treated with great complaisance, and many assurances of their influence. The New England members, I believe, are nearly, perhaps all, for us, but party interests and local politics will dispose a considerable number of the southern members to be against us. Two of those members lodge in the house with me—Mr. Huger and Dr. Tucker;* one of them, Mr. Huger, I think I have converted, but Dr. Tucker, I fear, will prove a reprobate. I do not, however, yet despair of his conversion. They are both very agreeable, and I give them no peace, when I can get a chance to preach on the subject of our petition. When I return I shall be able to give you many humorous anecdotes of my friend, Mr. Huger, who is a very diverting, droll genius. But in no instance have I been treated with so much particular attention as by the Vice-President. It so happened that I did not find him, though I called repeatedly at his house, until yesterday at Dr. Sprout's meeting. After the morning exercise he came to me and gave me a pretty severe reprimand for not having called upon him, for, as I did not leave a card, he was not informed of my being at his house. He told me he had heard of my being in the city, but had not been able to find my lodgings. Although I was engaged to dine with Mr. Goodhue, who was then with me, he insisted that Mr. Goodhue should excuse me, and that I should take a family dinner with him, which I did. When I came to his house I found that Mrs. Adams was dangerously sick with a fever. He told me he refused all invitations to dine abroad, and that he received no formal company at home, but very politely desired me to come and take a family dinner with him every day while I was in the city, or at least when I was not engaged to dine in company; in short, to make his house my home. I attended worship with him in the afternoon, but excused myself from taking tea, as I was engaged to take tea with Mrs. Cabot. This morning I called to inquire after Mrs. Adams. He repeated his yesterday's invitation with great urgency. I was engaged to-day, but shall dine with him to-morrow. I was favored with being closeted with him a couple of hours, opened to him the business of the Directors, and am pretty confident he will essentially serve our cause. It gave me much pleasure that I had this favorable opportunity to mention to him General Putnam as a proper officer to command the force to be raised and sent against the Indians. He is much dissatisfied with the conduct of St. Clair, and highly approves of the command being given to Putnam. On this subject he opened himself with great freedom, said that in consequence of my recommendation of Putnam to him he had used his influence with the President to appoint him one of the judges. That since Putnam received that appointment every account of him had given reason to believe the appointment judicious. That he should be decidedly for him, though he had not thought of him before to command the army. Desired me to take the earliest opportunity to converse with General Knox, and to press it upon him, and as Putnam was my particular friend, to propose him to all the members of the Senate, as well as the most influential in the House, with whom I conversed, and to request them to propose him to the President. He mentioned many other means of supporting him, but I mention these to show how much he is disposed to promote a measure in which I feel myself exceedingly interested, both as respects Putnam and as regards the country at large. I have just seen St. Clair; he is now hearty and well, and from some expressions I presume he expects to continue in command. It is said that the people in the western country universally wish Putnam may take command, and I believe were it to be decided by Congress he would have a generous vote. He does not wish for it, and insists that I should not mention him, but if appointed he will accept.

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*Daniel Huger and Thomas Tudor Tucker were members from South Carolina. Both were distinguished for patriotism during the Revolution, and both had served in the Continental Congress. Dr. Tucker did not "prove a reprobate," but favored the bill reported by the Committee.

But, my dear, I have been saying things of which I might well be ashamed, for I have been puffing my own consequence, and giving myself the airs of a C——, of Lynn, which I most heartily despise. It may be necessary to remark that however important their High Mightinesses of Congress may appear abroad, they appear here, when you converse freely with them, as small as other people, and it is not easy to conceive how much a very *little being* may, if disposed, work upon their caprice and whims, and after all I have said I believe the Vice-President to be a very judicious, independent man; that he is much displeased with that powerful southern influence constantly played off upon the President, and which has in some recent instances rather over-balanced his good judgment.

. . . I am now pretty well, but the constant routine of four and five o'clock dinners at the most sumptuous tables almost kills me. I had infinitely rather sit down with you to a piece of salt junk at one o'clock than be tormented with the parade and delay of Philadelphia entertainments.

Your most affectionate husband,

M. Cutler.

[*To Mrs. Cutler.*]

Philadelphia, *March* 23, 1792.

My Dear:—The question on General Wayne's election employed Congress the whole of last week until Friday, 3 o'clock, when the House voted unanimously that he was not duly elected. It was the opinion of our friends that it would not be best to attempt to bring forward the report on our petition on Saturday, as there were several bills before the House from the Senate which must be passed upon, but on Monday they had no doubt of getting it before the House. As soon as the House was opened on Monday, the report was called for, but a number of members came forward with a new question, relating to the Georgia Election, viz., whether General Jackson was duly elected? Our friends pressed the House very hard to take up our business, and stated urgent reasons for doing it immediately. It was also urged, on the other hand, that deciding on Elections was always the first object with Congress, and that all other public and private business must give way to it. After a pretty warm debate, it was carried to take up the Election. The House was much divided—a very serious course of debating took place, and continued from day to day till Thursday. The question was then taken—29 for Jackson and 29 against him—the Speaker deciding the vote by voting against his having a seat. It was then agreed by our friends, with those who wished to bring up a bill that had long been before the House on the Funding System, if they would consent that this bill should be finished yesterday, they would unite in calling up our business to-day. I now expect it will come before the House this day, still I am not without my fears that something may turn up to prevent. Congress is extremely crowded with business—they are extremely tedious in their debates and slow in their decisions, and, at the same time, all in a nettle to rise and adjourn for the season. Thus we are situated. We must wait the event of the report of the Committee (which I informed you was in our favor), let consequences be what they may. We are certain a number of the Virginia and N. Carolina members intend to make a warm opposition. All the New England members are for us, and the most of them much engaged, and will take an active part. New York, part of N. Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Georgia are for us. But it is yet doubtful whether a majority of the House will agree to the report. But I feel very sanguine, if the report is not accepted as it stands, Congress will agree to do something for us.

Many applications are made for the Command of the Army—Generals Lincoln and Putnam are on the list, and from what General Knox told me yesterday, I think Putnam stands a good chance to have the appointment. The principal difficulty seems to be his rank in the late Army, which was not so high as that of some who wish to serve in this.

About ten days ago 50 Sachems and Warriors of the tribes of the Six Nations arrived in this city. Among them was a son of the Cornplanter, a young chief, about 25 years of age. When the Marquis La Fayette went to France, he took this young chief with him, gave him a fine education, and about two years ago he returned an accomplished Frenchman. On his way to this city he was taken unwell, and on Monday died of a fever. He was buried on Wednesday, with the Honors of War. Great preparations were made on this occasion. Several Independent Companies, trains of Artillery, Military Officers, etc., preceded the corpse. The 49 Indians, all in complete uniforms of the officers of the United States, with laced hats, followed as mourners, then the principal officers of Government, many members of both Houses of Congress, all the Clergy of the city of every denomination, and many other gentlemen made up the procession. The crowds of people were immense; the streets were so filled that it was with the utmost difficulty, and not without wounding many, that the procession could pass. In short, the collection was so great that the procession was to be seen only from some elevated situation. I happened myself to be fortunate. The Speaker of the House, Mr. Learned whom you know member from Connecticut, and myself, attempted to get to the Hotel from which the procession was to move, but we could scarcely get in sight of the house. We gave up the idea of seeing the procession, and were returning, when we happened to be invited into the President's house to view them from a front chamber. There were no persons in the chamber but the President, his Lady and family, and Mrs. Knox. I had the honor of taking a fine view of the whole at a window, where there were only two others—Mistress President of the United States and Mistress Secretary of the War Department. And I assure you I thought myself as much *honored* as the *dead Indian* they were parading along the street. It was said there never had been so many people together in this city on any occasion.

I shall write you by the next post, and hope to be able to give you more favorable information than I can at present. My love to the family.

I am, most affectionately,

MRS. CUTLER. M. CUTLER.

[Dr. Cutler was at Cambridge *New Year's Day*, 1793, and spent the evening with President Willard, at the club at Captain Bigelow's. Present: Judge Dana, Mr. Gannet, Mr. Pierson, and Mr. Holmes. The next day he went to Boston and Roxbury, and was at the meeting of the Historical Society at Judge Sullivan's.]

January 23, 1793. In Boston to attend a meeting of the proprietors of the Ohio Company at Colonel Coleman's—General Cobb in the chair. A committee chosen to attend to the affairs of the Company.

January 24, *Thursday*. This day celebrated in Boston in honor to the French Revolution. An ox was roasted whole and paraded through the streets, decorated. A cart loaded with bread, two carts with two hogsheads of punch—the arms of the several tradesmen on flags carried on horseback and on the carts. The ox cut up on State Street, and strewed in pieces over the crowd. An immense collection of people. Liberty and Equality the words of the day. A very large number celebrated the day in a civic feast at Faneuil Hall. Tickets, 3 dollars. No invitations. I came home after 3 o'clock.

[Before the sanguinary horrors that marked the progress of the French Revolution, had shocked all Christendom, the movement, in its beginning, was favorably regarded in America as calculated to promote the cause of freedom and the welfare of mankind, but, from its bloody advance, the sympathies of all good men recoiled.

About this time a matter of particular interest to Dr. Cutler's parishioners claimed his attention and efforts. "The people of the Hamlet conceiving themselves deprived of essential rights and privileges, to which they had a just claim, and that they were subjected to burdens and inconveniences which they ought not to bear," were very desirous to be separated from Ipswich and to be formed into an independent town. To accomplish this purpose, they sought the aid of their pastor, to whom they were accustomed to turn in every emergency. Accordingly, a committee, consisting of Dr. Cutler, Colonel Dodge, Mr. Giddings, and Mr. Lamson, were appointed to go to Boston and apply to the General Court for an Act of Incorporation of the parish. On the 5th of February, they met with a committee of the Court and stated their case. The town of Ipswich was actively opposed to the movement, and was ably represented in the Court. A month was spent in patient working and waiting before the committee from the Hamlet was assured that a report would be made in their favor, provided the parish should pay nine hundred pounds to Ipswich. To this they agreed, and the favorable report was made, but the object was not yet attained, as the Court was still to act. At this juncture Dr. Cutler was recalled to his home, to meet and confer with General Putnam on Ohio Company affairs. After a few days, on his return to Boston, he found that, during his absence, "Choat contrived to have the report of the committee negatived in the Senate, and Heard did the same in the House; but Giddings had got it back into the House." After much lobbying, long delays, and several conferences with the Agents of the town, they came to an agreement which was executed by Stephen Choat, John Heard, and Jonathan Cogswell, on the part of Ipswich, and M. Cutler, Robert Dodge, Josh. Giddings, and Jonathan Lamson, on the part of the parish. On the 21st of June, more than four months after the application was made, the engrossed bill, for incorporating Ipswich Hamlet into a town by the name of *Hamilton*, passed the House of Representatives to be sent up to the Senate. Thus the struggle ended.

In reply to a brother minister who on former occasions had taken an active part in affairs of a secular nature, whose sympathies were with the town of Ipswich, Dr. Cutler asks: "Is there any criminality in a clergyman's assisting his own people to obtain their just rights and claims, when unanimously and repeatedly requested; and, especially, when convinced that a refusal would occasion much uneasiness and dissatisfaction? It is well known that I engaged in this matter with great reluctance, and not until after repeated and pressing applications." His people felt that they were indebted for the result to Dr. Cutler's perseverance, skill, and management, and as an expression of their gratitude voted him fifteen pounds, which he declined, by letter, relinquishing it to the town of Hamilton.

Commencement at Harvard College, 1793, was an occasion of unusual interest to Dr. Cutler and his family, as at that time his son, Charles, graduated. It is thus noted: "July 16th. Colonel Dodge and his son, Frank, Lavinia, Betsey, Temple (his daughters and son), and I set out for Cambridge. Arrived in the evening." July 17, Thursday. Commencement. Charles took his degree. Mr. Chamberlain, of Worcester, whose son was Charles' chum, joined with me in providing. We had more company than we expected. Dined upward of an 100—our friends from Boston, and a number of the parish. A very great number of people attended commencement. Charles had a part in the exhibition.

Charles Cutler possessed good natural abilities, and was a fine scholar. When he graduated, at the age of twenty years, he was immediately invited to assist Mr. Pemberton in the Academy at Andover, which position he declined, in order to take a school in Roxbury, where he taught a year, and then removed to the South Latin School, in Boston, with Mr. Hunt, at a salary of £100. In 1798, when troops were raised to defend the coast from an expected French invasion, he entered the army as Lieutenant and Quartermaster in the 15th Regiment, under Colonel Hunnewell, stationed at Portland, Maine. He continued with the troops until the disbanding of his regiment, in 1800, when he returned to Boston, and studied law with Hon. Harrison Gray Otis. His health failed, and with the hope of being benefited by the change of climate, he went to Ohio in 1802. Here he engaged for a time in teaching, until, prostrated by disease, he died at the home of his brother, Ephraim, September 17, 1805, at the age of thirty-two years. Dr. Cutler felt his loss keenly—many fond expectations were buried with him.

Dr. Cutler's time was still much employed in Ohio Company business. Although the more important matters of the company had been adjusted, there were minor details continually coming up. The Indian war had nearly put a stop to emigration, and western lands were no longer sought after for settlement, or for speculation, and the increased expenditures necessary to provide for the defense of the settlers rendered the eastern proprietors restive and fault-finding. Being the only Director residing east of the mountains, it devolved upon him to hear complaints, make explanations, and give information on all subjects connected with the doings of the company. It was no small labor to pay out the dividends, and make the deeds to the shareholders in his own large agency. That he met with many annoyances is probable, that he had warm friends is certain. This is indicated by the following letter to a friend, a draft of which is found among his papers. It refers to a suit begun by one of the proprietors, and carried through the courts to the Supreme Court, occasioning much anxiety, but which was finally decided in Dr. Cutler's favor.]

[*To Colonel B. Tallmadge.*]

My Dear Friend:—It is not in my power to express the emotions of my heart when I read your most agreeable letter, inclosed in that of the 20th of September; nor should I have failed instantly to have answered it, had not a special dispensation of Providence in this town obliged me to delay it for a few days.

The generous sympathy, and the kind part you take in the favorable issue of my contest with C—— claims my sincere acknowledgments. This unnecessary lawsuit, the only one I have ever experienced, has been a most painful trial to me, but I hope not without its benefits. I feel the fullest conviction that those trying evils which may seem to be the natural effect of a wrong temper in a fellow creature, are under the government of that righteous and sovereign God, whose hand ought to be observed in our minutest concerns. Tho' I have thought I could adopt the reply of David, with respect to Shimei, still I have it to lament that I have not felt more of that humble temper which shone so conspicuous in our blessed Lord, under the criminal abuses he received of men. How glorious the religion of Jesus, when it brings us to a cheerful, unconditional submission to the most trying events of human life, and when we can keep a single eye to the Divine glory in all our conduct under them!

But, my dear friend, it is not this part of your letter that gives me the greatest pleasure; it is the spirit of genuine religion which breathes thro' the whole of it, and particularly the impressions which you observe have been made upon your mind, in the year past, that rejoices my heart. I hope and trust I can sincerely join with you in feeling that I can love the image of Jesus wherever it may be found. From our first acquaintance I had much esteemed you for many admirable qualifications, not commonly to be met with among mankind; but you have now discovered another, which I had not suspected, infinitely more desirable. Your letter brings to recollection a few words you once said to me, when we were last at Philadelphia, respecting your brother's family, on which I have often since reflected. I was sorry that I had not an opportunity to have seen them. But even then I did not conceive of any serious impressions on your own mind. Our companions in the business of the Ohio Company, though respectable gentlemen, were generally of that description from whom we are not to expect a relish for the serious things of religion. In the course of this unpleasant business, I have often found myself in situations really painful and trying. It has not been easy to determine with myself what was my duty as a clergyman, nor what part I ought to take which would have been most for the honor of the religion which I hope has been deeply impressed upon my mind for many years. In this age of infidelity and wickedness a clergyman is (*se ipso*) an unwelcome companion. The very air of seriousness is disgusting, reproof is despised, and true religion branded with the odious epithets of hypocrisy and superstition.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SCIOTO PURCHASE.

On the 20th of July, 1787, Dr. Cutler says in his Journal: "Colonel Duer came to me with proposals from a number of the principal characters in the city to extend the contract and take in another company, but that it should be kept a profound secret," and "offered me generous conditions if I would accomplish this business for them."

July 27th, he writes: "By this ordinance, we obtained the grant of near 5,000,000 acres of land, amounting to $3,500,000; 1,500,000 acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters in America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company."

This "speculation" was the Scioto Company. Colonel Wm. Duer projected it. He had influence enough in Congress to procure the passage of the ordinance for the Ohio Company's purchase by connecting the Scioto speculation with it. Without it, Dr. Cutler's negotiation for the Ohio Company was a failure. With it, it was an assured success, and upon terms dictated by himself.

The injunction of secrecy was as to the fact of the increased amount of land being for a separate company. The "generous conditions" were, that if Dr. Cutler would secure, for the entire amount of lands asked for, the support of the members of Congress who had declared in favor of the Ohio Company grant, Colonel Duer and his friends would undertake, with Cutler's assistance, to obtain enough additional votes to pass the ordinance for the purchase of the entire tract upon exactly the terms stated in the Ohio Company's petition. This included the grants of land for the establishment of a University and the support of the ministry, which, next to the accomplishment of the purchase itself, were the objects most desired by Dr. Cutler.

Colonel Duer also agreed that Cutler and Sargent should have for themselves, and such of their friends among the prominent men in the Ohio Company as they chose to interest, one-half interest in the proposed right of purchase, the sale of which he and his friends would undertake to manage.

When Dr. Cutler left home, but little more than one-fourth of the shares of the Ohio Company had been subscribed. The only persons who had been active in securing subscriptions were Generals Putnam, Tupper, and Parsons, Major Sargent, and himself. It was by no means certain that enough shares would be taken, or, if taken, paid for in time to make the payment required on signing the final contract. To meet this contingency, Colonel Duer offered to loan the Ohio Company $100,000, without interest, or such less sum as should be required, to be repaid to him as collected. If any deception was practiced upon members of Congress by failing to explain to them fully the plans of Colonel Duer, it was more apparent than real. The articles of Association of the Ohio Company, which were read on the floor of Congress and distributed among its members, provided for the purchase of so much land as $1,000,000 in securities would pay for and no more. The Ordinance specifically authorized the Board of Treasury to contract with any "person or persons," thus plainly contemplating the possibility of separate contracts. Dr. Cutler, in an interview with Mr. Osgood, of the Board of Treasury, on July 25th,* communicated to him the plan "in all its parts." Mr. Osgood "highly approved" it, and said "that we might depend on accomplishing our purposes in Europe, and that it was a most important part of our plan."

On the 29th of August, 1787, at a general meeting of the Ohio Company in Boston, Dr. Cutler reported the result of his application to Congress. The report was approved, and he and Major Sargent were instructed to close a contract for 1,500,000 acres on the terms stated. Colonel Richard Platt, of New York, was elected Treasurer. A resolution was passed calling on the proprietors to pay their securities into the hands of the Treasurer by the 4th of the coming October. The propriety of accepting, as a Company, the option of purchase in addition to the 1,500,000 acres, included in the ordinance of Congress, was discussed, but no action was taken upon it, because of the opposition of many shareholders, who declared that they would withdraw from the Company if any thing beyond the original purchase was undertaken.

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*See Dr. Cutler's journal, that date.

In October, 1787, Dr. Cutler and Major Sargent returned to New York, and on the 27th of that month closed two contracts with the Board of Treasury. One with Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, as agents for the Directors of the "Ohio Company of Associates, so called," was an absolute purchase of 1,500,000 acres, lying between the Ohio River, the 7th and 17th ranges of townships, and extending north from the river till a line due west from the 7th to the 17th range should, with the reservations stated in the contract, include the whole amount. The other with Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, "for themselves and associates," was an option to purchase all the lands lying between the Ohio and Scioto Rivers and the 17th Range, extending north to the line of the 10th Township, and also all the land east of this tract, west of the 7th Range, south of the 10th Township, and north of the Ohio Company's purchase. The whole tract of land included in the last contract was estimated to be from 3,000,000 to* 3,500,000 acres. In each contract, the line of the 17th range is recognized as yet to be determined. The price of the land was one dollar per acre, subject to a reduction of one-third for bad land, to be paid in gold, silver, or securities of the United States.

On the 24th of October Cutler and Sargent, for themselves and associates, "ceded and conveyed," in equal shares to William Duer and his associates, the right of pre-emption or option of purchase of the last named tract. The whole ownership was divided into thirty parts. Thirteen (13) were to belong in full ownership to Duer, in which he could join such persons as he saw fit; thirteen (13) in like manner to Cutler and Sargent; and four (4) were to be disposed of in Europe for joint account. William Duer was authorized to contract for the sale of the lands in Holland, or elsewhere in Europe, with power to substitute an agent. He was to make known, when requested, to Cutler and Sargent, the progress of the negotiations. Royal Flint was agreed upon as the agent to be sent to Europe. In case he could not go, Colonel Duer was empowered to name another.

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*It proved to be near 5,000,000 acres.

As a consideration to the Ohio Company for permitting the contract to be made under cover of its petition, Colonel Duer advanced to it $143,000 in securities to enable it to complete the first payment to the Board of Treasury, many share-holders having failed to respond promptly to the call. This amount was repaid to him when collected from the share-holders of the Ohio Company. No formal organization of the Scioto Company in America was ever made. There was no occasion for any. Those interested held assignments of proportions from either Cutler and Sargent, or Colonel Duer. The entire management of the sale was confided to Colonel Duer, whose business experience, financial standing, social and official position were such as to inspire his associates with implicit confidence. The intention was to make an immediate sale of the right of pre-emption to the entire tract, except that part immediately north of the Ohio Company lands, either in Holland or France, where large amounts of the public debt were held. The credit of the United States was at its lowest ebb. The Confederacy had demonstrated its utter inability to enforce the collection of a tax for any purpose whatever. It had no resource from which to pay the public debt, except the public lands. The Cutler and Sargent option comprised the largest tract, to which the Indian title had been extinguished, which was now offered for sale, and was located in a part of the country which all who had visited it described as the garden of the new world. It was fair to expect that holders of the public debt abroad would eagerly exchange their securities, now begging purchasers at four shillings to the pound, for such lands, and at prices that would yield a handsome profit.

Soon after making the contract with Colonel Duer, Cutler and Sargent assigned equal interests* to Generals Benjamin Tupper, Rufus Putnam, S. H. Parsons, and Mr. Royal Flint. Generals Putnam, Tupper, and Parsons, had served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, and were the most prominent members of the Ohio Company who moved to Marietta. Royal Flint was a Connecticut man, a graduate of Yale College, who had served as paymaster in the Revolution, and was a prominent merchant in New York city. Joel Barlow had an interest equal to one-sixtieth of the whole, by assignment from Cutler and Sargent, dated 26th November, 1787. Colonel Richard Platt had one share, or one-thirtieth of the whole, by assignment from Colonel Duer. Andrew Craigie † also held an interest. There is no positive information as to who Colonel Duer's other partners were. The original shares were soon subdivided. Dr. Cutler gave to Rev. Daniel Story one-half of his interest to induce him to settle in Marietta. Royal Flint assigned four-ninths of his interest to Joel Barlow. General Putnam assigned a part of his to Colonel R. J. Meigs, Sr.

In May, 1788, Joel Barlow was selected as an agent to effect a sale in France, instead of Mr. Flint, whose ill health prevented him from going abroad.‡ On the 14th of May, 1788, William Duer assigned to Barlow, out of his moiety, such part as should equal one-sixtieth of the whole. Barlow therefore held an interest of about two shares. He sailed for France May 25, 1788, and arrived at Havre, June 24th. For authority he had certified copies of Cutler and Sargent's contract with the Board of Treasury, and their assignment and power of attorney to William Duer, and a power of attorney to himself from William Duer, giving him all the powers which Duer possessed to effect a sale in Europe. It will be noticed that Barlow's powers, while very full, extended only to the sale of the "right of pre-emption." Barlow also took with him a copy of Dr. Cutler's pamphlet, entitled an "Explanation of the Map which delineates that part of the Federal Lands comprehended between Pennsylvania, the Rivers Ohio, Scioto, and Lake Erie." This pamphlet was reprinted in Paris in 1789, with the indorsement of Captain Thomas Hutchins, the Geographer of the United States, as to the accuracy of its statements.

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* Each interest is described as one-sixth of eleven-thirtieths, and a proportionate part of the four shares reserved to be sold in Europe.

† Andrew Craigie was Apothecary-General of the American army during the Revolution. He lived in Cambridge, Mass., and was the owner of the house where General Washington had his head-quarters. The house subsequently became the home of the poet Longfellow.

‡ Barlow was interested with Duer, Craigie, Platt, and Joseph Parker, in a somewhat similar speculation on the Wabash, and had prepared to go abroad on that account, but because of unfavorable letters received in April, 1788, regarding it, did not go.

For a year Barlow met with indifferent success. In the meantime he attended to other business for Colonel Duer, who was constantly speculating in United States securities.

Early in 1789, he made the acquaintance of William Playfair, whom he describes as "an Englishman of a bold and enterprising spirit" and "a good imagination." In July of that year, the Bastile was taken. All France was in an uproar. "The times were propitious for schemes of emigration." Barlow and Playfair together issued a "Prospectus for an establishment on the Rivers Ohio and Scioto." In preparing this, they used the pamphlet of Dr. Cutler, and Captain Hutchins' description of the Ohio Country, with additions and embellishments wherein Playfair's "good imagination" found ample room for display. To it was attached a map, copied from that of Captain Hutchins, which showed the line of the 17th Range (the boundary between the Ohio Company purchase and that of the Scioto Company) as intersecting the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Big Kanawha. A note to page 1 of the Prospectus says: "The writings which testify the powers of Agents" can be seen at the Bureau of the Company. In November, 1789, they concluded a sale to a Company formed in Paris, under the firm name of the Company of the Scioto, the principal members of which were M. Gouy de Arsy, M. Barond, St. Didier, Maheas, Guibert, the Chevalier de Coquelon, Wm. Playfair, and Joel Barlow. To this Company, Barlow contracted to transfer the rights of his principals to the entire tract, except that part directly north of the Ohio Company purchase, unless that or a part of it should be necessary to make three million acres. All the lands sold were deeded by this Company. It is therefore essential to examine carefully the contract made by Barlow with it.* By this, Barlow first exhibited and proved his powers of attorney. By virtue of these powers, he "sold, ceded, and abandoned in full and free ownership and enjoyment thereof, except at such time and in the manner stipulated," 3,000,000 acres of land. Then follows the description of the lands, the price, six livres per acre, the time of payment commencing December 31, 1789, and ending April 30, 1794, the mode of payment either in coin or United States certificates of indebtedness, at 90 per cent, and the conditions of possession. "As soon as and not before the said payments are remitted arising from the price of the present sale, Mr. Barlow binds his principals toward the Society purchasing or its assigns, to put them in possession and enjoyment of an amouut of the 3,000,000 acres proportionate to the amount of the said payment at the aforesaid rate of 6 livres Tournois per acre." The lands were to be located in equal tracts from the 17th Range westward. Then follows the powers by virtue of which all deeds were given. "The said Society may, moreover, resell all or a part of the 3,000,000 acres before the times hereinabove fixed for the payment of their price, provided that the said Society gives up to the Sieur Barlow under the title of pledge the agreements of the under purchasers." These agreements were to be returned to the Society when they "paid to him their actual value." This Society constituted for its attorneys, general and special, William Playfair, Joel Barlow, and M. Jean Antoine Chais de Soisson. Their powers were thus expressed: "To whom jointly and severally they" (the French Society of the Scioto) "have given powers to resell all or a part of the said 3,000,000 acres at the best price, terms, or conditions of receiving the price thereof, or to assign it all or in part, and to discharge the Society with respect to the Sieur Barlow, to give for this purpose every acquittance, consent, subrogation, and to disseize in consequence the Society of its rights of property over the objects of sale in favor of their purchasers, and generally to do for the ease and accomplishment of the said sale, all which my said attorneys appointed shall judge most fit for the advantage of the Society."

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* For the privilege of examining a copy of this contract and other contracts made by Barlow in France, referred to in this account, I am indebted to Mr. John M. Newton, of Cincinnati, who has presented them to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. E. C. D.

Mr. Barlow, in agreeing to put the Society in possession of the land in tracts as paid for in payments of less than $500,000, somewhat exceeded his authority, but this was a venial sin. If the money or securities had been paid as agreed to the Treasury of the United States all would have been well. The authority he gave to the French Society of the Scioto to resell in advance of its payments was entirely upon his own responsibility and at his own risk. The French Society of the Scioto in acting upon it did so at its own risk, for Barlow's powers had been exhibited, proved, and made part of the contract, and they contained the exact terms of the grant to his principals. Those who purchased did so at their own risk, depending solely on the French Company, for the most casual examination would have shown the exact value of its title. Mr. Barlow did not send to Colonel Duer a copy of this contract. On the 29th of November, 1789, he wrote to Colonel Duer the fact of the sale, the price, and times of payment. He estimated the profits, after deducting "commissions and douceurs," as upward of $1,200,000. He said that he hoped to induce the Royal Treasury of France to accept the obligations of this "French Society of the Scioto" for the American bonds it held, and to close the whole matter within a year. If this failed, the sale of a portion to individuals, and an immediate emigration and settlement would give such an impetus to sales that the whole tract would be sold in less than a year. He urged that the line of the 17th Range be at once definitely ascertained, that preparations be made to receive and accommodate at least one hundred emigrants, and that a proper person be sent to Alexandria to conduct them to the lands. He called Colonel Duer's attention to the necessity of securing the assent of the United States Government to a plan he had previously sent him for obtaining titles to the lands in small tracts, as rapidly as paid for, or the mortgages taken for deferred payments deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury, "as the only means of bringing a mere pre-emption into that shape in which it could be fairly offered for certain sale." As an additional and imperative reason, he admitted that he had so far exceeded his powers as to give the French Company "power to resell portions before they made their first payment on the contract, requiring as my security the deposit of the payments for these portions." "This they have already acted on to a considerable amount. Whatever else may be done, a tract of at least 5,000 acres, opposite the mouth of the Big Kanawha, must be secured, on which to locate the first settlers." Sales were rapidly made. Some lands were at once paid for. Some persons made partial payments, securing the rest by mortgage. Some made contracts for lands to be paid for at a future date. The deeds were signed by William Playfair and Jean Antoine Chais, as agents and attorneys for the Society of the Scioto. To some of them Barlow added his approval; in one case (Freville), "for the Company of the Scioto in America;" in others, "I approve, J. Barlow."

The deeds were accepted by many persons without inquiry as conveying and warranting a perfect title. The warranty clause in the deeds is as follows: Playfair and Chais "as such attorneys in fact do by these presents sell and promise to guarantee against every kind of eviction or attack." The clause of conveyance is as follows: "Whereupon the said Playfair and Chais convey and transfer to the said —— all the right, title, interest, claim, and demand of said Society . . . in said lands sold by these presents, giving up to and for the use of said —— all its rights to the full and peaceable possession of the same when and how he may choose." The exact nature of the title conveyed and warranted by this deed is a question for those learned in the law. Bureau, in his Mss. History, speaks of them as "deeds artfully called legal." Many purchasers, among them Count De Barth, Marquis Lezay-Marnesia, the members of the Society of the Twenty-four, and De Hebecourt,* were not satisfied with the statements of the agent, and asked an abstract of title. These were furnished with copies of Barlow's powers, and with a certificate of

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* Fully half of the land sold was to De Barth, Lezay-Marnesia, De Hebecourt, and the twenty-four associates.

Thomas Jefferson, then Minister to France, as to Barlow's high character and the wealth of Colonel Duer. Whatever payments they made to the Society of the Scioto, after seeing these papers, they did at their own risk, relying, of course, on the assurance of the society that it would faithfully fulfill its part of the contract, by making payments as agreed, and of Mr. Barlow that its title would be perfected as payments were received. The Company of Twenty-four associates was composed of twenty-four persons, each of whom purchased 1000 acres of land of the Society of the Scioto, for the purpose of forming a city and colony on the banks of the Ohio. The leading members were Count De Barth and his son M. Bourogne, Marquis Lezay-Marnesia, General Duportail,* General Duvalette, Colonel Rochefontaine, M. Thiebaut, William Playfair, M. Chais, and Joel Barlow. All of these and probably all of their associates were fully aware of Cutler and Sargent's contract with the Board of Treasury, the exact nature of Barlow's powers, and of at least a portion of the personnel of the American ownership. Rochefontaine and Duportail were connected with the French Society of the Scioto. In the double capacity of agent and attorney for the Society of the Scioto in France, and for William Duer and associates, Barlow located the lands of the Twenty-four associates in Towns 1 and 2, Range 21, 1, 2, and 3, Range 22, Towns 1 and 2, Range 23, Towns 4 and 5, and part of 3 in Range 24, and attached a map showing the lands to lie in an oblong square, except the part next the Ohio River, the length of which was six times its breadth. As one of the American proprietors he made the following agreement with the society:

AGREEMENT OF BARLOW.

Mr. Barlow binds himself in the names of his co-partners,

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* Chevalier Louis Duportail was educated at the military school of Mezieras, France. He came to America during the Revolution and attached himself to Lafayette. He was commissioned by the Continental Congress Brigadier-General, 1777, and Major-General in 1781. He returned to France after the war, and by the influence of Lafayette was made Minister of War in 1790. Lafayette's downfall determined his. In 1792, warned of an accusation against him, he came to America, whence he was recalled in 1802. He died on the passage home.—*See Drake's Dictionary American Biography.*

Generals Parsons, Putnam, and Tupper, and Major Sargent, living at Marianna, to furnish the articles hereinbelow to Messrs. ——, of the Society of the Twenty-four, on the following conditions:

1. Flour of good quality in store and places which shall be furnished to them at the times they shall agree upon together upon their arrival at Marianna,* and in the quantity they shall also agree upon.

2. Salt meats of good quality shall also be stored in the places and furnished in the proportions agreed upon. When fresh meat can not be had, and according to the agreements had.

3. Hunters shall be sent by Messrs. Parsons and others with the colonists to provide them with game.

4. In case it shall be impossible to procure all the game that shall be necessary for consumption, cattle, and other domestic animals shall be furnished in proportion to be agreed upon.

5. Carpenters and workmen suitable for clearing shall be furnished by Messrs. Parsons and others in numbers sufficient to help the new settlers to build their first houses and to clear according to the custom of the country.

6. American surveyors shall be furnished by Messrs. Parsons and others to locate the lands of the new settlers the soonest possible after their arrival on the lands.

7. Mr. Barlow engages Mr. Parsons and others, as well at Marianna as at Alexandria, and on the road from that city to Pittsburgh, to furnish the Messieurs of the Society of the Twenty-four, wagons for the transporting them and their baggage, horses, and plows and animals of which they shall have need, and generally all they shall wish to procure in America, at the lowest possible price, and so to do that in no case shall they have reason to complain that advantage has been taken of their ignorance of the customs of the country.

AGREEMENT OF THE SOCIETY OF THE TWENTY-FOUR.

The members of the Society of the Twenty-four agree with

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* He meant Marietta.

Mr. Barlow and his friends, Messrs. Parsons and others, to the following conditions:

2. Each one of the associates upon arrival shall agree upon the quantity of flour whereof he shall have need per day or per month, and Messrs. Parsons and others shall receive at the appointed time the payments which shall be made by each of them in accordance with the settled price of the country for the different costs of food so furnished.

3. The hunters shall be at the charge of Messrs. Parsons and others, and the game furnished to the settlers who shall be bound to take it, and shall be paid for according to the usage of the country.

4. If any agree that there shall be furnished them fresh beef or any other kind of butchers' meat, each one of the settlers to whom it shall have been furnished shall pay for it according to the price agreed upon by Messrs. Parsons and others.

5. The associates shall, at their own discretion, make with Messrs. Parsons and others every agreement which shall seem good to them for furniture and other things, but no one of them understands that an engagement made by him can bind his associates, who shall be free to contract with any other, if so be it seems good to him.

Mr. Barlow enters into the engagements of which mention has just been made only to insure his associates the supply of every thing of which they shall have need, and the certainty of not being deceived by those who might try in America to take advantage of their little knowledge of the language and usages of the country.

By the middle of February, 1790, the French Society of the Scioto had sold over 100,000 acres of land. Several hundred emigrants had sailed, a great part under the auspices of the Marquis Lezay-Marnesia, Count De Barth, and the Society of the Twenty-four, as purchasers, renters from these, or laborers. There were others, who were employed by Playfair and Chais as laborers for the French Society of the Scioto, to be paid in lands after a term of years; some as renters from the Society, who were to pay one bushel of wheat per acre; and some who had purchased "small tracts for homes in a free land."

Barlow had written Colonel Duer, on the 8th of December, 1789, that every thing was progressing well. One hundred emigrants, in charge of Colonel Rochefontaine, would sail early in January. December 29th, by M. Bourogne, Count De Barth's son, who went with the first emigrants instead of Rochefontaine, he wrote that he expected to put Colonel Duer in funds to make the first payment of $500,000 to Congress when it fell due, and that sales of 500,000 acres would be concluded in January. "Many respectable and worthy families will go out soon; if they are pleased, half a million of adventurers will follow." The same date, probably by the same conveyance, he authorized Duer to draw on him for 20,000 livres, to be used in defraying expenses of the first settlement. January 25, 1790, he wrote to Colonel Duer, authorizing him to draw for 100,000 livres, and added: "The affair goes extremely well, though no payments are yet made. . . . Do n't, for God's sake, fail to put the people in possession. Make any sacrifice rather than fail in this essential object. If it fails, we are ruined; all our fortunes and my character are buried under the ruins." He urged Colonel Duer to raise $100,000 or $200,000 for a short time to put the people in possession, and said: "I pledge the faith of an honest man for the payment. If necessary, draw on me for a second hundred thousand livres at ninety days' sight." These letters, whose language proves them to be in regular sequence, are noticeable for the lack of accurate information. No reason is given for the non-payment of the amount due 31st December, 1789. The authority to draw for 200,000 livres, as well as the previous authority to draw for 20,000 livres, was evidence to Colonel Duer that if Barlow had not that amount of money in his possession, he had securities representing it from proceeds of sales to under-purchasers which had been turned over to him.

The fact of Cutler and Sargent's contract with the Board of Treasury and Colonel Duer's control of it soon became known in America, and was variously commented upon, particularly after Barlow's departure for Europe. When Dr. Cutler visited

Marietta, in August, 1788, some members of the Ohio Company from Rhode Island charged that the entire amount of lands embraced in both the Ohio and Scioto contracts belonged to the Ohio Company, and that the portion held by the Scioto associates had been transferred to them by Cutler and Sargent without consideration.* Dr. Cutler indignantly repelled the charge. On his return home in October, he found that similar reports had been spread. A meeting of a number of the share-holders had been held at Providence, Rhode Island, and a secret committee appointed to act in concert with share-holders from other states, whom they hoped to interest, to secure control of the Ohio Company, and, if possible, of the Scioto contract, which this meeting by resolution declared properly belonged to the Ohio Company. This dissatisfaction commenced with, and was for the most part confined to, those members of the Ohio Company who had become share-holders after the contract for the purchase of lands had been made. In answer to these charges, Dr. Cutler, in November, 1788, issued an address to the agents and proprietors, in which he stated the facts which made the purchase for the Scioto associates necessary to secure the terms finally granted the Ohio Company. He showed that, except for the arrangement with Colonel Duer, it would have been impossible for the Ohio Company to have made the first payment to Congress, and the contract would have been lost. He gave an abstract of the contract of Cutler and Sargent with Duer, and offered to exhibit the original to any proprietor in the Ohio Company who wished to see it. He presented the certificate of the Treasurer of the Ohio Company that Colonel Duer actually advanced $143,000 to complete the amount required for the first payment, and to verify this a statement of the accounts of the Treasurer with the different agents. He also explained the advantage gained by delaying the second payment until the exterior line of both tracts had been surveyed, and showed that the two contracts bore the same date and were separate and distinct. This gave general satisfaction.

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*Cutler's Journal, August 21, 1788. "Felt myself much injured yesterday by representations made by the Rhode Island faction respecting the Scioto Company purchase."

In May, 1789, at a meeting of the Ohio Company held at Marietta, General Putnam and Dr. Cutler were empowered to ascertain from the different agents the number of unpaid shares, to declare them forfeited, sell them if possible, and to effect a final settlement with the Government. This Company had paid to the Government half a million dollars in securities on account of its purchase, which required one million. It had no title to any part of its lands, though under a right of entry it had made a settlement and considerable improvements, and had deeded to each share-holder a quantity of land. Until it was certain that the division of the land would be completed, and unincumbered titles given, shares were almost worthless. The securities in which they were payable had doubled in value since the settlement began. There appeared, therefore, but a faint prospect of selling the forfeited shares. Unless they were sold, the final payment to the Government could not be made.

In January, 1790, the Secretary of the Treasury, in a report to Congress on methods of funding the public debt, recommended that the price of public lands be fixed at twenty (20) cents per acre, payable in Government certificates of indebtness or coin. General Putnam arrived in New York, 30th January, 1790. Dr. Cutler joined him late in February. By advice of their friends in Congress, they did not present their petition, as it was thought the price of public lands would certainly be reduced, in accordance with the recommendation of Secretary Hamilton, and that the reduction would be made applicable to the Ohio Company's contract. February 27th, Dr. Cutler's interleaved almanac contains this entry: "Scioto Company met this evening at Colonel Duer's. Just as we were seated, we received letters from Barlow announcing the completion of his contract, much as we wished."

Colonel Duer had probably received some of Barlow's letters before, but chose this time to communicate them to his associates. These letters showed that Barlow had exceeded his powers by permitting the French Company who had purchased the lands to give deeds, and, by calculations from Hutchins' map, had erred in locating the line of the 17th Range as intersecting the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Big Kanawha, instead of near the mouth of the Guyandotte, as shown by actual surveys just completed. But they also contained the most positive assertions that the payments would be made, and by the authority given to draw for 220,000 livres, showed that Barlow was keeping the money and securities received for the lands in his own control. There was no reasonable doubt that the government would give deeds for such lands as were actually paid for. The only practical difficulties seemed to be to obtain from the Ohio Company the lands for the city located by Barlow opposite the mouth of the Big Kanawha, and to raise the money required immediately to provide transportation and homes for the emigrants who had already sailed.

To meet this unexpected condition of things, Colonel Duer associated with himself in the management of affairs, Royal Flint and Andrew Craigie, the three being styled "Trustees for the Scioto Associates." They employed General Putnam to make arrangements for conducting the settlers to the lands, preparing cabins for them, and making the necessary surveys. General Putnam was a man of careful and exact business habits and methods. While sharing the general good feeling over the apparent result of Barlow's negotiation, he was much displeased with the manner in which sales had been made.* Neither himself, Cutler, or any other of the Ohio Company people were able to advance money. It was therefore agreed that, in consideration of the surrender of part of the interest held by them, for which a power of attorney was given to Colonel Platt, the remainder should be exempt from assessment and indemnified from loss. The entire business of locating and supplying the emigrants, with the profits arising from it (for the emigrants were to pay for their transportation, food, and houses), was given to Duer, Flint, and Craigie, probably to recompense them for their advances.

It soon became evident that Congress would during that session take no action on Secretary Hamilton's recommendation as to the reduction of the price of public lands, although it seemed likely that at a future session the price would be fixed at not over twenty-five cents per acre. General Putnam then proposed * to the Trustees that they should purchase the forfeited shares from the Ohio Company, take the three-acre lots, the city lots, and one hundred and sixty-acre lots set apart for them already in the portion of the Ohio Company's purchase, which had been surveyed, and locate the remainder, which, when the number of forfeited shares was definitely ascertained, proved to be 196,544 acres, in a compact body, fronting on the Ohio River between a point opposite the mouth of the Big Kanawha and the true line of the 17th Range, the western boundary of the Ohio Company purchase. They accepted, and on the 23d of April Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler, as Directors of the Ohio Company, made a contract of sale to Duer, Flint, and Craigie, "Trustees for the proprietors of the Scioto lands," of the lands represented by the one hundred and forty-eight shares forfeited to the Ohio Company for non-payment and located as above described. The consideration was $1,480, in specie, to be paid in sixty and ninety days, for which notes were given, $8,800 in indents † of interest, and the remainder to be paid when the Ohio Company made its final settlement with Congress at the same price per acre and in like public securities. The Scioto associates also released to the Ohio Company the right of pre-emption or option of purchase to that part of the lands held by them north of the Ohio Company purchase.‡ The Scioto associates were to have the same right to enter upon and occupy the lands as was given to the Ohio Company by its contract with the Board

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* Putnam to Duer, January, 1791: "The moment I found that Barlow began to retail lands in small quantities, I was fearful of the consequences."

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* Putnam to Clap and others in 1791. "I was the principal in that transaction."

† Indents. Scrip issued prior to the adoption of the Constitution for interest as it fell due on government securities.

‡ Thus described: Beginning at the north-west corner of Township No. 10 in the 7th Range of Townships running west on the north boundary of the Scioto purchase to the west line of the 17th Range; thence south on the west line of the said 17th Range till it comes to the north boundary of the Ohio Company's purchase; thence east to the west line of the 7th Range; thence north to the place of beginning.

of Treasury. No deed of conveyance was to be made until the payments were fully completed.

This contract was rightly deemed of great value to the Ohio Company. In case the price of public lands was reduced, as expected, to twenty cents an acre, the amount already paid to the United States would entitle it to a million of acres more of better lands than were included in its contract, in the territory comprised in the right of pre-emption. To secure the application of such a reduction to the Ohio Company contract the aid of Duer and his friends, who were then a power in political circles, was certainly secured. If no reduction was made the original contract was at least safe. To the Scioto associates the contract was of even greater importance, for they now controlled every acre sold in France. After the completion of this contract Dr. Cutler returned home. If he took any further active part in the Scioto affairs there is no record of it.

Under instructions from Colonel Duer, General Putnam, in March, employed Major Burnham to enlist in New England a company of men to build huts for the French emigrants, assist them in clearing lands, and keep such guards as might be necessary. Early in May, General Putnam went to Wellsburg, on the Ohio River, and from there, on the 28th of May, sent James Backus to meet the expected emigrants and conduct them on their way, to inspire them with patience, provide them with accommodations and good treatment, and to give Major Rochefontaine (who was supposed to be in charge) "every information which he may stand in need of to assist him in conducting his people to their place of settlement." He wrote to Major Rochefontaine and Colonel Duer, urging that the people be not sent beyond the Alleghanies until the middle of September, when a new crop would be harvested, owing to the great scarcity of provisions. On the same day he advised Colonel Duer that it would be necessary to provide food to carry the French settlers through the winter, and notified him that he (Putnam) would attend to providing for and employing Major Burnham's men, and to the location and surveys "it is incumbent on the Trustees to make to fulfill the engagements which Mr. Barlow may have made to the settlers," but could not undertake any thing else. He asked that money be sent at once to Colonel R. J. Meigs, Sr., who was in charge of surveys, to pay debts already incurred, and requested a copy and plat of sales made by Mr. Barlow, that he might give proper instructions to the surveyors. June 4th, being then in Marietta, he gave written instructions to Major Burnham, who had arrived with a company of men, recruited in Massachusetts, to proceed to "a place on the Ohio next Chickamauga Creek," "which would be marked out for him by Colonel Meigs, and there erect four block-houses and a number of log-huts agreeably to a plan" given him, and to clear a tract of land along the river, and divide it into four-acre lots, as shown on the plan. Early in July, General Putnam returned to Massachusetts, to bring his family to Marietta.

The first party of French emigrants reached Alexandria, Va., about May 1, 1790. They were expected at an earlier date, and Colonel Franks, who had been sent by Colonel Duer to receive them, had returned to New York, supposing that they had made another port. The people of Alexandria, as soon as they learned the destination of the newly arrived emigrants, informed them that their deeds were worthless; that the lands they purported to convey were at best of little value; that the Indians in the North-west Territory were numerous and hostile, and that much better land could be had in Virginia on very reasonable terms. Other emigrants soon arrived. Count De Barth and M. Thiebaut, and soon after the Marquis Marnesia, were deputed to wait on Colonel Duer, ascertain the facts in regard to the titles, and to ask a compliance with Mr. Barlow's agreements for transporting them to their lands and supplying them with provisions *en route*. To this committee, Colonel Duer exhibited the proceedings in Congress* in reference to the purchase, the contract of Cutler and Sargent with the Board of Treasury, the contract made for the purchase of the forfeited shares of the Ohio Company, and no doubt assured them of his intention and convinced them of his ability* to make good the titles to the lands they had purchased. In answer to the question of this committee as to the "composition of the Scioto Company," Colonel Duer said: "The Company known under the name of the Company of the Scioto was originally composed of thirty (30) shares, belonging to as many owners. The persons who held these shares were for the most part those who had much influence in the formation of the Company of the Ohio at Marietta, or in the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government. The original shares have since been much subdivided, but the general management of the Company's affairs, as well in America as abroad, has been entirely trusted to myself alone, and I have for aid and counsel two Agents, who are Messrs. Royal Flint and Andrew Craigie, both of this City." The committee, well satisfied, returned to Alexandria. A commission appointed by Colonel Duer accompanied them, and settled with a like commission appointed by the emigrants, certain modifications of Barlow's agreement. The journey over the mountains commenced in July, and continued at a moderate rate, under principal charge of Captain J. Guion,† whom Colonel Duer had appointed Superintendent of the Scioto Company in the west when General Putnam declined.

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* De Barth to Putnam, 1790 "Resolutions of Congress establishing its approbation of sales to Cutler and Sargent." De Barth had, before leaving France, a copy of Barlow's powers, which referred to the contracts, and he doubtless called for them.

M. Bourogne, Count De Barth's son, went to New York from Alexandria soon after his arrival. While in New York he became acquainted with the efforts being made by the Scioto Associates and the Ohio Company to obtain a reduction in the price of their lands. Barlow had written, March 3d,‡ to Colonel Duer, that he had surrendered his contract with the French Society of the Scioto, and was carrying on the sales himself still under its name. Bourogne also obtained this information. He sailed for France, and on July 22, 1790, made a contract for the entire tract of land with Barlow, on behalf of himself, his father, M. Coquet, Playfair, and General Duvalette. Their interests were: Messrs. De Barth, father and son, one-half; M. Coquét, one-tenth; General Duvalette, one-tenth; Playfair, three-tenths. The contract recites that this Company shall and does expressly assume all the engagements of the former company to the public, and the payment to the American Government for the lands. Fifteen sols per acre were to be given to the American proprietors as their sole profit. No payments were to be made to any one until three months after the sale of each 300,000 acres; no limitation was made as to the location, within the tract, of the lands the company might sell. Ten sols per acre were reserved by the company for "expenses of management." The sales already made were to be assumed, and to be calculated as part of the first lot of 300,000 acres. The money and securities on hand, from proceeds of former sales, were to be turned over to this company. These sales were made at six livres .per acre. The new company therefore assured to itself a profit of seventy-seven sols per acre on the lands sold by the French Company of the Scioto (about 140,000 acres), and a handsome working capital, as—except a thousand crowns—the money received for the sales had not been remitted to America. This Company agreed to pay Barlow for the American proprietors, the sum of 50,000 livres on the 1st of September, 1790, and authorized him to negotiate immediately (if he could) a loan on its credit of 100,000 livres, which was also to be advanced to the American proprietors—both sums on account of their profits of 15 sols per acre.

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* A good reason for having made no payment to Congress (which, indeed, was not due), was the expectation of a reduction in the price of land. This was known to the leading men among the French.

† Captain Guion continued to act as Superintendent until about January 1, 1792, when John Mathews was appointed.

‡ In this letter Barlow says: "Though it is difficult to sell for cash, and I have been obliged to make some sacrifices in taking property, etc.," thus indicating that he had the proceeds of sales in his own control.

Of this brilliant and final operation of Mr. Barlow, Colonel Rochefontaine* thus wrote to the Marquis Lezay-Marnesia, in August, 1790:†

"He (Barlow) has contracted with a new Company, who have engaged to give him 150,000 livres* for himself, 28 sols per acre profit to the Company in America, and 28 sols per acre to Congress. This Company consists of M. Bourogne (M. De Barth's son), Coquet, Duvarnel,† Playfair, and Barlow. By a very bad arrangement, those gentlemen don't pay for the lands but after they are sold, in consequence of which they will sell all the land along the river, and will leave nothing for the proprietors in America but the back lands; and what is still more against the American proprietors is, that these gentlemen have no other funds to fulfill their engagements with Mr. Barlow but what they get by sale of the lands. In short, they will make an acquisition, as they are daily made in Paris, which will be entirely to their own profit, and afterward renounce the whole, which must prove highly contrary to the interest of all concerned, as this will give a bad name to the affair, and hinder the country from getting settled as we expected. The only way to extricate Duer, Sargent, Putnam, and the other partners in America from this inconvenience, is to refuse ratification of the article contrary to their interest made by Mr. Barlow, as it is against the powers invested in him, and to order that the lands be sold by Mr. Barlow, Playfair, Duportail, and myself; and I can assure you that by this method the whole tract of lands will be shortly sold to the great advantage of the Company. As instance how little fit Mr. Barlow is to transact Public affairs, upon some hopes given him by M. De Bourogne and others, he engaged Mr. Duer to draw on him (Mr. Barlow) notes to the amount of 100,000 livres, which has been done. These notes are to be paid the 28th of this month, but for want of funds they are to be returned unanswered. If this new company had been willing to make use of the great credit they announced to Mr. Barlow, they certainly would have helped him out of this cruel embarass (*sic.*), and would not expose their creditors in America to the enormous expense this refusal must occasion."

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* Rochefontaine served in America during the Revolution as Captain of Engineers, and was brevetted Major after the capture of Yorktown. He had attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry in 1791. He was obliged to leave France in 1792, and came to America.

† As translated for General Putnam by Mr. Dimler.

Rochefontaine wrote a similar letter to Colonel Duer.

As soon as Colonel Duer became aware of this contract, he

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[*] This was an error. There is nothing to show that Barlow was to receive any thing for himself.

[†] Duvalette.

sent Colonel Benjamin Walker* to France, with a full power of attorney to displace Barlow, or act as joint agent with him, refuse ratification of this contract, examine into the accounts, obtain the proceeds of the sales that had been made, take sole charge of the affair if he deemed advisable, and endeavor to sell the contract as originally designed. Col. Duer wrote to Barlow notifying him that he, and he alone, was responsible to the French people to whom he had given or permitted to be given deeds for the lands, and to the Scioto Associates, whose interests he had so shamefully mismanaged; upbraiding him in the severest terms for the manner in which he had conducted the business, for the failure to give his principals definite information as to his operations, and for permitting the bills drawn on him to be dishonored. Colonel Duer was placed in the most embarrassing position by the protest of these bills. He reminded Barlow of the repeated pledges he had given, "on the faith of an honest man," for their payment, and urged him in the strongest terms to make good the amount at once, and save him (Duer) from ruin.

On Walker's arrival in France, he found, what he had previously suspected, that the proceeds of sales of lands were held by Playfair, and that Barlow had apparently received nothing. He succeeded in obtaining from Playfair a statement of account and a long letter of explanation, but no money or property. After becoming convinced that nothing could be done by persuasion, he placed the interests of the Scioto Associates in the hands of Colonel Rochefontaine, gave public notice by advertisement to prevent people from purchasing lands from Playfair, and in April, 1791, returned to

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* Benjamin Walker was born in England, 1753; died at Utica, New York, 1818. He came to America when very young. He entered the American army, in the Revolution, as Captain in the Second New York regiment; was detached as Aid-de-Camp to the Baron Steuben; and, near the close of the war, served on the staff of General Washington. After the war he went into business in New York City as a broker. During President Washington's administration he was naval officer of the port at New York. He was a member of Congress, 1801 to 1803. In 1797, he was appointed agent for the Earl of Bute's great estates in western New York.—*Drake's Dictionary American Biography.*

America. A letter[*] from Barlow to Colonel Walker, dated London, 19th October, 1791, shows that Walker exonerated him from intentional wrong-doing. Letters from Barlow and Rochefontaine to Walker, and Colonel Duer's correspondence with Mr. Matthews,[†] his agent at Gallipolis, indicate that Walker had agreed with Rochefontaine to form a new Company to purchase one million acres of land, assume the contract for purchase of the forfeited shares from the Ohio Company, and make good the deeds given by the French Company of the Scioto for such lands as had been paid for. Two things were essential to the success of the new Company—Congress must reduce the price of the public lands; the settlers must be protected from the Indians.

The first boat-load of French emigrants reached Gallipolis[‡] about October 20, 1790. Captain Guion assigned to the people houses and four-acre lots as they arrived. Count De Barth and the Marquis Lezay-Marnesia, with the people accompanying them, refused to accept the quarters provided at Gallipolis, as they wished to take possession of their own lands and locate a city where Portsmouth now is. They stopped at Marietta, and pending the return of General Putnam from the east, were assigned quarters in Fort Harmar. General Putnam reached Marietta November 5th. Surprised at the demands made upon him by De Barth and Lezay-Marnesia, he requested from them a statement in writing of all agreements made with them by Barlow and Colonel Duer, of none of which he had been advised. Count De Barth responded in a long letter, giving a complete history of Barlow's operations in France. General Putnam referred the letter to Colonel Duer, and wrote asking for money to defray expenses already incurred, and inclosed an estimate of the amount needed to make surveys and build houses for De Barth and Lezay-Marnesia. Shortly after writing, he received a letter from Colonel Duer in answer to one written in September, promising to send money immediately, and saying that he had received but one thousand crowns in all from Barlow; that Barlow had not sent him copies of any contracts he had made, or any list of lands sold, and that it would be necessary to make surveys from the deeds held by purchasers. On receipt of this letter, General Putnam sent Mr. James Backus with a surveying party to the mouth of the Scioto to locate the city. Several of the emigrants accompanied him. Before this survey commenced, new actors appeared on the scene. The Indians, emboldened by the defeat of General Harmar [in October, 1790], took the war-path, and boasted that before the budding of the trees, they would quench in the white man's blood the fire in every white man's cabin northwest of the Ohio River. The surveyors were driven in. Early in January, 1791, the Ohio Company block-house at Big Bottom (thirty miles north of Marietta) was attacked and its inmates killed or captured. The settlements were hurriedly put in a state of defense. General Putnam issued a stirring address to the French in Fort Harmar, reminding them that Frenchmen and Americans fought side by side in the war for independence, and that it was by the aid of the "Magnanimous Monarch of France that the United States were enabled to wrest this very country from Britain." He urged them to form a company, under officers of their own choice, and join in the defense against the common enemy. Few responded to the call. The Marquis Lezay-Marnesia went to Pittsburgh, and soon after returned to France. Count De Barth went to Philadelphia to negotiate further with Colonel Duer. Some of the people remained at Marietta; some went to Gallipolis; others to the French settlements in different parts of the country.

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[*] In it Barlow says: "I thank you very much . . . for the candid and honorable manner in which you have treated my character and conduct. . . . I have got a credit for 100 guineas, for which I consider myself indebted to your friendly agency."

[†] John Matthews was a nephew of General Putnam; He came from New Braintree, Mass, to Ohio, in 1786, and was employed under General Tupper in the survey of the first seven ranges west from the Pennsylvania line. He was afterward employed by the Ohio Company as a surveyor, and in 1790 was engaged by Colonel Duer to manage his store at Gallipolis, and soon became his principal agent in the Northwest Territory. In 1796, Mr. Matthews married a daughter of Judge Woodbridge, of Marietta, and settled in Muskingum County, Ohio, where he ultimately became a farmer on a large scale. "He was one of the most useful, active, and clear-headed men Ohio ever claimed as a citizen."—*See Hildreth's Pioneer History.*

[‡] Name given in France by the Society of the Twenty-four to a town to be located opposite the mouth of the Big Kanawha.

The settlers at Gallipolis, though their expectations were not realized, were not especially dissatisfied. The Indian war was accepted as a sufficient excuse for the failure of the Scioto Associates to locate them upon the lands they had purchased. In the fall of 1790, Colonel Duer, who had the contract for supplying the troops in the North-west Territory, established a large store at Gallipolis, and placed Mr. John Matthews in charge. From this store he supplied the inhabitants with food and clothing, taking from those who had no money (and few had any) assignments of their deeds of land as security. In the Spring of 1791, the people commenced the cultivation of grapes on the four-acre lots which had been cleared for them by Burnham's men adjacent to Gallipolis, and early in April, 1792, Mr. Matthews wrote Colonel Duer that the people had enjoyed remarkable health, and that "the success of their experiments in making wine and brandy are circumstances that attach them very much to the country," and that "peace and possession of their lands would render them *heureux comme des Dieux.*"

In February, 1792, Colonel Robert Oliver, General Rufus Putnam, and Rev. Manasseh Cutler, a majority of the Directors of the Ohio Company, met in Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session, to effect a final settlement with Congress, and in general of the affairs of the company. They presented a petition to Congress, asking that the whole 1,500,000 acres of land included in the original contract be deeded to the Company for the payment of $500,000, in securities, already made, and that a grant of 100,000 acres be made to compensate it for the lands donated to actual settlers and promised to those performing military duty, and for expenses incurred in maintaining troops for defense against the Indians. The condition of the French settlers at Gallipolis was discussed. It was agreed that, if the Scioto Associates failed to pay for the lands they had contracted for, as appeared probable, and the donation of one hundred thousand acres was made in such a manner as to permit, the French settlers should be given 100 acres each in the vicinity of Gallipolis, so located as to include their improvements. This was stated to the committee who had the petition in charge, and a bill was reported in accordance with this design. Congress had refused to make a reduction in the price of the public lands. The Indians had defeated the army under General St. Clair, which sought to destroy their villages and conquer peace. Government securities were still increasing in value. The fact that the Ohio Company had in its Treasury over $200,000 of securities, which could be applied in part payment of the $500,000 still due on its original contract, was known to the members of Congress. The bill reported by the Committee met much opposition, and action on it was long delayed. Early in April, there occurred a financial panic in New York. Colonel Duer failed, and, after the barbarous fashion of the times, was imprisoned for debt. Flint and Craigie also failed. The notes given for the 148 forfeited shares of the Ohio Company were surrendered, and the contract of sale was canceled. Colonel Platt went down with the rest, heavily indebted to the Ohio Company, of which he was Treasurer. On the 21st of April, 1792, a bill finally passed both houses of Congress, confirming to the Ohio Company the title to 750,000 acres of land, extending along the Ohio River from the west line of the 7th Range to the west line of the 15th Range. An additional grant of 214,285 acres was made, to be paid for in army bounty rights. 100,000 acres were granted to the Directors of the Ohio Company, in trust, to be deeded in tracts of 100 acres each to actual settlers. The last two named tracts were to adjoin the 750,000-acre tract, and to be within the limits of the 1,500,000 acres originally contracted for by the Ohio Company. The clause in the law granting the donation tract was saved in the Senate by the vote of Vice-President John Adams. The bill passed made it impossible to give to the French settlers donation lands at or near Gallipolis. That place was included in the 750,000-acre tract which the bill directed by fixed boundaries to be deeded to the Ohio Company. Land near it could not be exchanged for land in the donation tract, for the title to that did not vest in the Ohio Company. It was a trust for a specific purpose. The donation tract was located on the waters of the Muskingum, where were the grants already promised by the Ohio Company to settlers who had made improvements, built forts, and who were then performing military duty.

The failure of Colonel Duer threw the people of Gallipolis upon their own resources. Although there was some suffering, and many moved away, the settlement was too firmly established to be broken up. The Indians were troublesome in 1792 and 1793, and a company of Militia was organized at Gallipolis and taken into the service of the Territorial Government, and a company of regular soldiers was also stationed there. Early in 1794 M. Gervais, one of the emigrants who had purchased 4,000 acres of land for himself, went to Philadelphia and counseled with Mr. P. S. Duponceau,* a Frenchman and a lawyer of eminence, who had been in America since 1777, as to the best method to secure a title to the lands purchased. Mr. Duponceau informed him that the legal remedy was against the French Company of the Scioto and its agents, unless the contract for sale of the forfeited shares, made by the Ohio Company to Duer, Flint, and Craigie, as Trustees for the Scioto Associates, was such that a title had actually passed. Mr. Duponceau prepared a petition asking for relief for the French, and presented it to the Senate of the United States. It was referred to a Committee, who reported a bill summoning the Directors of the Ohio Company to appear and show cause why so much of the grant of 750,000 acres to them, in 1792, as should be sufficient to satisfy the claims of the French, should not be declared void. This bill or order was served upon Rufus Putnam, Robert Oliver, and Griffen Green, through De Hebecourt, then postmaster at Gallipolis. No notice was served upon Dr. Cutler, who became aware of the bill by reading it in a Philadelphia paper. By advice of their friends in Congress, Putnam, Oliver, and Green made no response to this order. It was a question for Courts, not Legislatures.

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* Peter Stephen Duponceau was born in the Isle of Rhé, France, 1760. He came to America with the Baron Steuben, whom he assisted in preparing a system of drill and discipline for the Continental army. For his army services he was brevetted Captain. In 1781, he was appointed Secretary to R. R. Livingston, then head of foreign affairs. After the war he studied law, and settled in Philadelphia, where he died in 1844. He became eminent in his profession, and also attained high reputation in the world of letters. Harvard University conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him in 1820.—*See Drake's Dictionary American Biography.*

Dr. Cutler applied to Senator George Cabot* for information.

In a letter to General Putnam, 16th October, 1794, he gives Senator Cabot's statement, as follows: "He says there were no debates in the Senate on the petition of the French. It was introduced, he thinks by the bill which I showed him; that the bill was committed; that the report was that the Directors should be notified. He also says that Colonel Burr, and some others of the anti-federal clan, came forward very warm in favor of the French, and very bitter against the Ohio Company; and, among other things, it was asserted that the Ohio Company, by their own doings, had acknowledged themselves interested in the Scioto business; that the Directors had refused to give the French any share of the Donation lands; that the French were imposed upon in France by false descriptions, maps, etc. Mr. Cabot very politely offered to interest himself in our behalf. He thought it best that he should be informed of the circumstances of the two purchases in writing, that he might be prepared to meet the opposite party. I accordingly put into his hands a statement, in which I have detailed the circumstances of the applications of the the Committee to Congress for the whole tract, to the Board (of Treasury) for the two separate contracts, the advantages

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*George Cabot, statesman; born, Salem, December 3, 1752; died, Boston, April 18, 1823. After passing two years at Harvard University, he went to sea for a short time, and then engaged in mercantile business, in which he was very eminent and successful. . . . He was a member of the Massachusetts State Convention, and of that which ratified the Constitution of the United States. He was United States Senator in 1791–6; a confidential friend of Washington, and of Hamilton, of whom he was an able coadjutor in the formation of his financial system. He was appointed Secretary of the Navy, 1798, which he declined. In 1814, a delegate to the Convention which met at Hartford, and was President of that body. He was a leader of the Federal party.—*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

which both companies had in view; inclosed him my printed report at Boston, and the printed doings of the meetings in Boston and Providence, to prove that the Ohio Company had no interest, as such, in the Scioto."

No action was had against the Ohio Company by reason of this bill.

In January, 1795, the donation tract of the Ohio Company was thrown open for occupancy, and offered free in lots of 100 acres to each settler. Notice was given to the "French settlers at Gallipolis, with all others at that place, . . . to come forward by associations, or individually, and receive lands if they please."

In March, 1795, Congress gave, in response to the petition presented by Duponceau, 24,000 acres of land in what is now Scioto County, Ohio, to the French settlers over 18 years of age who would be in Gallipolis on November 1st of that year. Four thousand acres were given to M. Gervais for his services; the remainder was divided among ninety-two persons reported by General Rufus Putnam, appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury for that purpose, as entitled to receive lands under the act. This grant was made to the French without prejudice to their rights of action against any person or persons by reason of existing contracts. Settlement was to be made on each lot within five years, to confirm the title to it.

In December, 1795, the Ohio Company held a meeting in Marietta, to make final division of its lands. A committee appointed by the citizens of Gallipolis attended, and asked that the town site be given to the settlers. This was refused, but an application to purchase at a low price was favorably considered, and two fractional sections, containing 900 acres, including Gallipolis and the improved lands adjacent, were sold to the inhabitants at one dollar and a quarter an acre.

Each Frenchman, therefore, who remained at Gallipolis through the year 1795, was entitled to 217⅖ acres of land in the "French Grant" (as it is still called), in Scioto County, and 100 acres of land in the Ohio Company donation tract on the waters of the Muskingum. Each had received a log house from the Scioto Associates, and held the lot he had improved by paying for it at the price of wild land. Many were indebted to Colonel Duer for eighteen months' subsistence and clothing.

END OF VOL. I.